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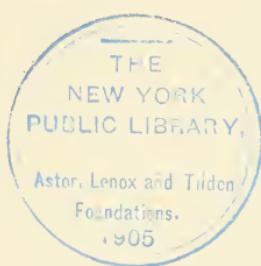
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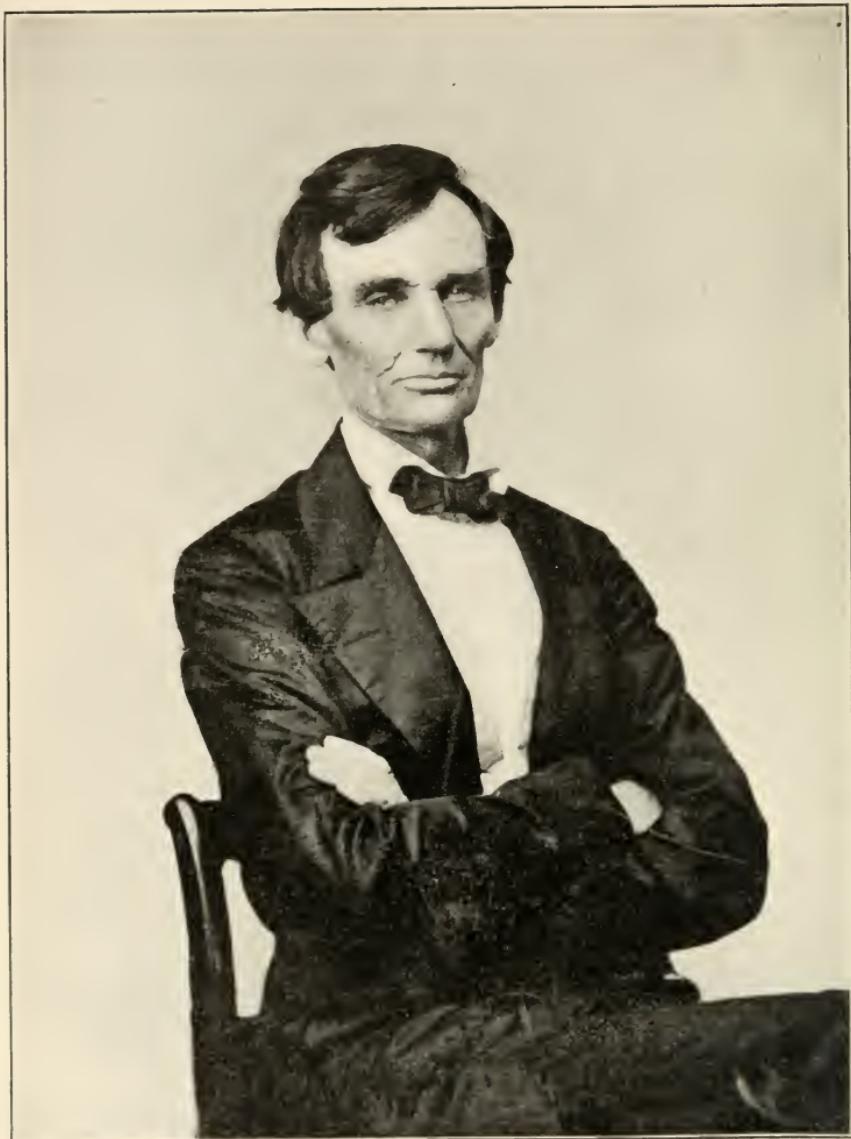


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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

VOL. IV





1809—ABRAHAM LINCOLN—1865.

1860.

From an original ambrotype in possession of Major William H. Lambert, Philadelphia, Pa.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

HENRY WILLIAM ELSON

AUTHOR OF "SIDE LIGHTS ON AMERICAN HISTORY," ETC.

*With Two Hundred Illustrations Selected and
Edited by Charles Henry Hart*

VOLUME IV

New York

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purchased it for \$1000, and ordered that it should be preserved in the State Library. Assistant Secretary of State Frederic W. Seward wrote to Mrs. Barnes, accompanying the manuscript, "I have the pleasure of sending you, with the President's permission, the original draft of his September proclamation. The body of it is in his own handwriting, the pencilling in the hand of the Secretary of State, and the formal opening and ending in the hand of the Chief Clerk."

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE GREAT POLITICAL DUEL BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH PRECEDING THE CIVIL WAR

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1852

THE excitement over the compromise measures had scarcely subsided when the quadrennial election of a President claimed the country's attention. Seldom had the political sky been less clear. The advantage seemed to lie with the Democrats, not that their party had been wiser than the opposite party, nor that it had done anything to deserve the support of the country, but because it had been out of power and was less responsible than its rival for the fierce agitation over the Omnibus Bill.

The Democratic convention met in Baltimore on the 1st of June. Four notable aspirants for the honor were prominently spoken of: General Cass, the stalwart and dignified leader; James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Stephen A. Douglas, "The Little Giant," and ex-Governor Marcy of New York. But each had his element of weakness, and after many ballots it was seen that none of these four could command the necessary two thirds, and the convention cast its eyes about for a dark horse. The mantle fell on the shoulders of Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. Pierce was the son of a soldier of the Revolution, and he learned his first

lessons of patriotism while sitting at his father's hearth-stone listening to the stories of that long and dreary war, told over and over again by his father and the comrades who often gathered at his fireside to talk of the olden days. The son grew to manhood, became a leading member of the bar, and served in both houses of Congress. He declined an invitation to enter the Cabinet of President Polk, but he volunteered his services to the Mexican War, and, though he knew little of military affairs, the favor of the President soon made him a brigadier general. In no sense was Franklin Pierce a great man. He had not won great distinction as a lawyer, nor as a statesman, and still less as a soldier.

But Pierce possessed some of the needful qualities of a successful candidate. He was hale and jovial, and he won friends on every side. Being a secondary man in public life, he had awakened few antagonisms. Moreover, he accepted unreservedly the Democratic platform, the chief plank of which was that indorsing the compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law. A wave of disappointment spread over the party at the nomination of Pierce. Why should the great party leaders, who had spent their lives in the forefront of battle, be set aside for this mediocre man? But this feeling subsided and the party was soon united as one man for its candidate.

The Whig convention met ten days after the adjournment of the Democrats, in the same hall of the same city. The party was hopelessly divided; it was little more than a disorganized mass, and the herculean efforts of the leaders to bring harmony proved fruitless. The chief candidates for the nomination were three: Winfield Scott, Millard Fillmore, and Daniel Webster. But the rock that threatened to wreck the party was the platform, rather than the choice



1804—FRANKLIN PIERCE—1865.

BY GEORGE PETER ALEXANDER HEALY, 1852.

From the original portrait in possession of Kirk D. Pierce, Esq., of Hillsboro Bridge, N.H.

of candidates. The southern wing of the party demanded that the convention indorse the compromise measures as a finality. Such an act would be equivalent to a promise to agitate the subject no more, and to aid in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. How could the Seward Whigs do this? How could the men who had fought that measure in Congress, or those who had been enraged at the seizure of Anthony Burns, had exulted at the rescue of Joshua Glover — how could they now pronounce that hated law a final settlement of the great question?

Yet the southern Whigs were inflexible in their demand that the convention indorse this measure, as the Democratic convention had done. Many Democrats had also opposed the passage of this law; but most of these had reentered the party fold; a few had swung away into the ranks of the Free-soilers. The defection in that party was not serious. It was like a tiny satellite cast off from the major planet. But it was different with the Whigs. Under the powerful leadership of Seward nearly half the party was ready to resist the demands of the South. At length, however, the Seward people, after coming to a tacit understanding with some of the southern delegates that the northern wing should name the candidate, yielded the point, and the Fugitive Slave Act was indorsed as a finality by the convention. Yet it was with exceeding difficulty that Scott was nominated. The South objected to Scott because he stood too near to Seward, the originator of the higher-law doctrine, because he refused to express himself on the compromise, and because he had written a letter some years before which seemed to indicate that he desired the ultimate extinction of slavery.¹ The South wanted Fillmore, a

¹ Von Holst, Vol. IV, p. 160.

northern man, it is true, but he had signed the Fugitive Slave Law and had shown great vigor in enforcing it.²

Then there was Webster, who fondly hoped that the prize would fall to him. But Webster was the idol of no great section. He had a few faithful friends, but he had forfeited the allegiance of the North by his Seventh of March Speech. Whatever may have been his motives in making that speech, whatever may be the judgment of history in regard to it, it is certain that his contemporaries could not shake off the belief that he was bidding for southern support in the presidential race, and that thenceforth he was classed with the northern men of southern principles.³ But the South would not support Webster. He was too new a convert to win their confidence. They remembered him as the author of the mighty speech against Hayne, as the reviver of the doctrine of nationality; and if now he would barter the convictions of a lifetime to win the favor of the South, what might he do, if he became President, to regain the favor of his own section? No, the South could not trust the great New Englander with the sacred interests of slavery, and in all the fifty-three ballots of the convention he received not one vote from that section.⁴

² The Fillmore followers were called "Silver Grays."

³ Horace Mann declared that if President Jackson, to win a third term, had defended the United States Bank and made Nicholas Biddle his bosom friend; if Clay had abandoned his protective principles and become a free trader; if Calhoun had raised the standard of immediate emancipation — none of these changes would have furnished such material of contradiction and amazement as that of Webster. "Mr. Webster espouses doctrines more southern than South Carolina, and becomes Calhouner than Mr. Calhoun."—*Congressional Globe*, 1st Session 32d Cong., App., p. 1079.

⁴ It is said, however, that the southern delegates promised Webster

Scott was nominated on the fifty-third ballot; but this did not bring harmony to the party. His name awakened little enthusiasm in the North and still less in the South. Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, and other leading southern Whigs put forth a manifesto declaring that they would not support Scott. Such was the condition of the Whig party when it went before the people asking their suffrages in 1852. Twice had the Whigs won by choosing a soldier to head their ticket, and now they had chosen a third, greater than either; but the times had changed. Scott lost ground throughout the campaign, and carried only four states in the election.⁵ The victory of Pierce was more sweeping than any since the second election of Monroe, though the campaign was notable for the extreme apathy of the people. William R. King of Alabama, who had served many years in the Senate, was elected Vice President.

The cause of the great Democratic victory was the fact that the party was unanimous and doubtless sincere in its promise to leave the slavery question undisturbed, a matter on which the Whigs, notwithstanding their forced platform, were yet divided. The people, especially the business men of the country, were utterly weary of the agitation, and they gave their suffrages to the party that promised them rest.⁶

their votes if he could come down to Mason and Dixon's line with forty. But this, as they probably knew, he could not do.

⁵ Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee. See Stanwood's "Presidential Elections," p. 191.

⁶ The Free Soil party had also its ticket in the field, headed by Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire; but it carried no state, and its popular vote was much lighter than in 1848, when Van Buren headed the ticket.

DEATH OF CLAY AND WEBSTER

While the Whig convention sat in Baltimore, the founder of the party lay on his deathbed in Washington. But once since the opening of Congress had Clay been able to go to the Senate. He was dying, and the summons came ere the close of the month that had witnessed this last national convention of the party in which he had so long been the leading figure. His end was peaceful and calm; he passed away with sincere confidence in the Christian religion. Few men have been so deeply mourned by the whole nation as was Henry Clay. The solemn funeral procession passed through various cities of the North before crossing the Alleghanies; and, as it moved to the mournful music, the evidence of sorrow, shown by the vast crowds that gathered, betokened the love in which the deceased was held.

Henry Clay possessed some great qualities. As a parliamentary leader he has no equal in American history. As a party leader, as an idol of the people, he stood in the highest rank; and indeed, but three men in our history — Jefferson, Jackson, and Blaine — can be classed with him in this respect. Clay was a man of definite party principles and aims, but at a time of imminent peril he would waver and stoop a little below his ordinary level to carry his ends. This is shown by his Alabama letter, and by his hedging on the tariff in the campaign of 1844. As a statesman Clay cannot be placed in the very first rank. He lacked the broad analytic mind of Jefferson, the deep foresight of Hamilton, and the prophetic intuition of Jackson. His judgment was too often at fault. Some of the greatest achievements of his life proved to be political blunders, notably his forcing the bank charter through Congress in 1832.

Clay has been called the great compromiser, though he

was the author of but two compromises in his long career: first, that of 1833 on the tariff, and second, the Compromise of 1850.⁷ But the wisdom of both of these is open to question. The compromise measure of 1850 may have been necessary to avert greater dangers; but its author did not foresee that he was sacrificing his own beloved party upon the altar, and that the evils he sought to avert were only postponed for a very few years. But Nature kindly spared him from seeing those evils, and Henry Clay, after a long public career, strangely mingled with light and shadow, laid aside his staff "like one that is weary," and his ashes were laid to rest in his own beloved Kentucky.

Daniel Webster, a few years younger than Clay, was associated with him in public life for nearly forty years, and their names are frequently linked together in history. They were leaders in the same great party; usually, but not always, they were personal as well as political friends. But the two men were so unlike that it is difficult to find a point of resemblance. As a party leader Clay stood far above Webster; as a giant in intellect Webster overshadowed Clay. Clay won the love of the people; Webster won their admiration and praise. Clay made many warm friends, and had bitter enemies; Webster had fewer friends, and almost no personal enemies. Both were intensely American, and the passionate desire of each was to become president of the United States. With Clay this longing covered most of his political life; with Webster, only a few of his latter years.

⁷ Clay has often been called the author of the Missouri Compromise; but aside from the second compromise concerning the admission of free blacks into Missouri, he had no more to do with it than some of his colleagues.

Both failed, but each made a permanent name in American history far above that of the average President.

As an orator Webster holds the first place in our history; as a constitutional lawyer he stands without a peer, and he was singularly powerful in developing a constitutional principle. But he was not painstaking; he disliked the routine work of Congress, and one of his lifelong drawbacks was indolence. Webster was not without faults, the most notable of which was a want of thrift. His income from his profession was large, but he had no power to keep out of debt, and his life work would have been thereby weakened but for the aid of some of his rich friends, who now and then came to the rescue. The last years of Webster's life were weakened by his inordinate desire to be President; but he always fell far short of receiving the nomination of his party. He was more popular with the masses than with the politicians, but not even among the people was there any great desire for his candidacy. He had never been a party leader, nor had he proved himself a safe party man; and, as above stated, he appealed to the intellect rather than to the heart. The last great effort of his friends to secure his nomination at Baltimore in 1852 proved a disastrous failure.

Webster's grief and disappointment at this crushing defeat furnish the saddest incident in his great life. The account of his interview with his friend, Rufus Choate, the great Boston lawyer, after the convention had adjourned, is inexpressibly sad, and Choate afterward referred to it as the most mournful experience of his life.⁸ A few months later the great New England statesman sank down into the grave, denouncing the pursuit of politics as vanity of vanities, and advising his friends to vote for the Democratic

⁸ Harvey, quoted by Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 260.

candidates. Thus the most brilliant star in the political firmament, after waning from the passing of its zenith, was obscured at its setting by a dark cloud.⁹

But Webster's final days were days of peace. As he lay at his Marshfield home waiting for the final call, he seemed to have forgotten all about the turmoils of political strife, and his mind soared through the realms of the unknown. He spoke of the wondrous works of God; he requested that on his tombstone be inscribed a statement of his profound belief that the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be a divine reality; he discussed the gradual steps of dissolution with his physician, and said that no man who is not a brute can say that he is not afraid of death. "I shall die to-night,"¹⁰ said he to his physician, as the sun rose on the last day of his life. It was on one of those dreamy October days, known as Indian summer, when Nature invites everything that hath breath to love her and to praise the Lord, that the great man cast his eyes for the last time on her changing forms, that he heard for the last time the murmuring waves of the Atlantic through his open window, that he called his family one by one and bade them farewell. At nightfall he sank into a gentle slumber. Waking after midnight, he said, "I still live," his last intelligible words. In the early morning his life went out with the ebbing of the tide.¹¹

The mourning for Webster was widespread and sincere. The attitude of the South at the Whig convention had caused a reaction throughout the North. Boston had given him a grand reception in July, and now Massachusetts was heartbroken at the death of her great son.

⁹ See Von Holst, Vol. IV, p. 204.

¹⁰ Curtis's "Life of Webster," Vol. II, p. 696.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 697-701.

All human talents and virtues have their limitations. Nature is not uniform in distributing her gifts. When she makes a man great in this or in that line, she often leaves him in other respects, like Samson with the shorn locks, as weak as other men. Webster's life was a great life; but he was weak in some points. Strange that such a man should pine for an office that so many smaller men had filled. Strange, too, that he could not see, as we now see, that the presidency, had he attained it, would not probably have added a jot to his illustrious name in American history. But we must remember Webster, not by the weaknesses of his later years, but for his whole life, especially for the principle of nationality of which he was our greatest exponent, a principle epitomized in his own undying words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

FALL OF THE WHIG PARTY.

We have taken leave of the two great leaders of the Whig party; we must now give a parting word to the party itself. But a few weeks after the death of the great New England statesman at Marshfield the party to which he belonged received a blow at the polls from which it could not recover. This was the last national campaign of the Whig party. The structure was tottering to its fall, and ere the return of the next quadrennial election the story of its existence was history. Of the many political organizations in our history the Whig party was one of only four that became so powerful as to secure control of the government; and it differs from the other three in that it has left us no legislation of permanent value, by which to enrich our national life and to distinguish its name in history.¹² During the

¹² See Schouler, Vol. IV, p. 261.

twenty years of its existence it had but one rival, the Democratic party, and by that party it was beaten in all its great measures. It will be remembered that the compromise measures of 1850 were sectional and not partisan in their nature, and while most of the country seemed disposed to accept them as a finality, they awakened the lasting opposition of many, and the odium had to be borne by the Whig party. Many Democrats had supported the measures, but they were fathered by the great Whig leader and signed by a Whig President, and the resentment they awakened north and south was visited upon that party. On this rock the party became hopelessly divided, and these measures are usually regarded as the cause of its downfall. But there were other causes.

The old Federal party had been overthrown because it was too aristocratic and centralizing in its tendencies, because it differed too widely from its Democratic rival. The Whig party's downfall was due in part to the opposite reason — it had become too Democratic. It had yielded to the Democrats on all the great issues between them: the bank, the independent treasury, the tariff, and at length the issues of the Mexican War. Not one of these did the Whigs attempt to disturb when they regained power in 1848; and the only other great question before the country, slavery, was sectional and not partisan. After 1850, therefore, the two great parties stood on common ground. No longer were there principles to fight for—only spoils. And since, as before stated, in the world of politics two of a kind cannot exist together, one of these two parties must disappear.

But the Democratic party was no better than the Whig. Why then did it survive while its rival perished? Because, first, its traditions and history, almost coexistent with the

government, appealed to the sentiment of its adherents; second, it had held a steady course while the Whigs had yielded every important issue between them; and third, it escaped the odium of the compromise. Thus, from various causes, the Whig party passed into history, and by so doing it made way for another that was soon to be born, one destined to do a mighty work for the nation which the old party could not have done.

Millard Fillmore, the last of the Whig Presidents, was a man of sincere and honest motives. The odium of signing the Fugitive Slave Law he could not outlive; but, as before stated, there is little doubt that he meant it for the best, and it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise without bringing disaster on the country. He was the victim of conditions that he could not control.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

Franklin Pierce was the youngest man ever made President up to that time.¹³ His inaugural address was generally well received; but the statement that new territory should be acquired (and this meant Cuba) confirmed the belief that in the great controversy that had convulsed the country the sympathies of the new President were with the South. And so it proved; whenever it became the duty of this northern President to show his hand on the slavery question, he invariably decided with the slaveholder.

In his cabinet we find three men of national fame. Marcy of New York, who had served in Polk's cabinet, became secretary of state; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, secretary

¹³ Mr. King, who had gone to Cuba for his health, was there sworn into office as Vice President. He returned to his Alabama home a few weeks later, and died on April 18.

of war; and Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, attorney-general. Marcy had for many years been a leader in New York, had been governor of the state and senator in Congress. His famous phrase "To the victors belong the spoils," has been quoted by unnumbered millions—at first as a happy statement of a policy accepted by all, now only to be condemned. Davis had risen rapidly in public life after the Mexican War, in which he had proved himself a brave and skillful officer. But his strange career was only begun, and we leave a further account of him to a later page. Cushing was one of the most learned men ever in public life in America. He had been a Whig in ante-Tyler days, had performed a most useful service as commissioner to China, and on his return had joined the little Tyler party; but on its collapse he refused to return to the Whig fold, and joined the Democrats. It was said that Cushing's linguistic knowledge was so extensive that he could converse with every foreign minister at Washington in the latter's own language. The other members of the Cabinet were inconspicuous, and even their names would not interest the reader. This Cabinet is the only one, even to this day, that remained unbroken during an entire presidential term.

Not long had Pierce been President when his popularity began to wane, and so it continued steadily to the end of his term. It was evident that he lacked executive ability and firmness. He received every office seeker with suavity of manner, and led him to believe that he would receive the desired appointment. But many had to be disappointed, and this failing gave the President much trouble and made him many enemies. But with all his vacillating he was constant in one thing—his desire to please the South and to crush

the Abolitionists.¹⁴ To annex Cuba was the first great aim of the administration.¹⁵ To further this end Buchanan was selected as minister to England, Mason to France, and Soulé to Spain; all of whom were determined advocates of the project. These three ministers, directed by the President to meet at a convenient place to consider the subject, met at Ostend, a little town in Belgium, and issued an address, known as the Ostend Manifesto. In this they urged the transfer of Cuba to the United States, by purchase if possible, by force if necessary. This was not acted on by the administration.

In his inaugural address President Pierce had promised the country a rest from the distracting slavery question, and this promise he renewed in more emphatic words in his first annual message to Congress. And the people were pleased; the compromise as a final settlement was taking a firmer hold upon the public mind. The North had even become quiescent on the Fugitive Slave Law.¹⁶ The country was prosperous; railroad systems were extending in every direction; manufacturing and commerce were at high tide; the national treasury was full to overflowing. Moreover, the Democratic party had a powerful hold upon the country. Not only the President and both houses of Congress, but also the gov-

¹⁴ Cushing, who was, in an extreme sense, a northern man with southern principles, stated in a letter that the administration was determined to crush out abolitionism in every form. Cushing, as well as Pierce, came to sympathize with secession in the sixties.

¹⁵ Our filibusters had awakened apprehension in Europe, and in 1852 England and France had proposed a tripartite agreement with the United States to disclaim all intention to get possession of Cuba; but the United States declined to enter the agreement.

¹⁶ Sumner had made a powerful speech in the Senate, calling for the repeal of the law (July, 1852); but the effect of this had largely subsided.

ernor and legislature of nearly every state, were Democratic. Surely the party had every promise of another long lease of power. Such was the condition of the country and the party at the opening of the year 1854, when suddenly there broke forth from the political sky a storm more terrific than any that had preceded it in the history of the government. It came in the form of a legislative act, and its author was Stephen A. Douglas.

Douglas was one of the most brilliant and ambitious men in public life. Though less than forty years old, he had vied with the old leaders of the party for the presidential nomination in 1852, and had received nearly a hundred votes. His support, however, had come from the North, and it was necessary in those days for a candidate to win southern support in order to gain the presidency, or even the nomination of either of the great parties. Cass, Marcy, Cushing, Buchanan, Fillmore, Pierce, and even Webster had shown themselves ready to aid the slave power in its contest with the rising abolitionism of the North; but Douglas had done nothing to win the favor essential to the realization of his ambition. He was now chairman of the Senate committee on territories, and here was his opportunity.

The northern part of the Louisiana Purchase, a vast uninhabited region of nearly half a million square miles, lay northwestward from Missouri and extended to the boundary of British America. The territory was known as Nebraska. Douglas now brought a report before the Senate to give this region territorial organization. In this report were two statements of far-reaching importance: first, that the provision in the Compromise of 1850—that Utah and New Mexico be organized with no decision for or against slavery

—was designed to establish certain great principles, namely, that all other territories be organized in the same way—that is, the subject of slavery in each must be decided by its future inhabitants; second, that in the opinion of eminent statesmen Congress had no authority to legislate on the subject of slavery in the territories, and, therefore, the eighth section of the Missouri Bill of 1820 is null and void. Now the eighth section of the Missouri Bill is that which established the compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$.

In few words the above meant this: first, that Congress in deciding in 1850 to keep its hands off the slavery subject in Utah and New Mexico, meant that this decision should apply to all future territories—which every intelligent man in and out of Congress knew to be false; and second, that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional.

Douglas professed to believe that he had found a way by which to secure eternal rest for the country on the subject of slavery in the territories, by relegating the matter to the territories themselves. But Douglas knew better. He must have known that his bill, if it became a law, setting aside the Missouri Compromise, though not actually repealing it, would be sternly resisted at the North. The Congress of 1820 had no power to bind its successors; but that solemn agreement between the North and South that slavery be forever prohibited north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ in the Louisiana Purchase, made when Douglas was a toddling child of seven years, had received the sanction of the greatest statesmen of the time, and had stood like a wall for thirty-four years. It was more than an act of Congress. It was an agreement, almost as binding as a treaty, between two great sections of the country. What Mason and Dixon's line was to the East, the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ was to the West. Could Douglas

now suppose that he could set aside this compact, and enable the slaveholders to fill the heart of the continent, even to the Canadian border, with their human property, without raising a storm of indignation? But the end had not yet come. Douglas knew that his report would please the South, though he had consulted with no southern men in its framing. Scarcely, however, had the country caught its breath when Dixon, a Kentucky Whig who was filling the unexpired term of the lamented Clay, arose and offered to the Nebraska Bill an amendment actually repealing the Missouri Compromise. This was startling to the Senate and especially so to Douglas. He had not intended to go to such lengths; but seeing that, if he rejected the amendment, he would displease the South and lose all credit for what he had done, he embodied the amendment in his report.

The rising storm of indignation at the North was now swelling in volume, and it threatened to become a resistless hurricane. Douglas saw that to escape being overwhelmed he must secure the support of the administration. President Pierce was known to disfavor the Dixon amendment,¹⁷ nor was Douglas in intimate relations with the President. But he knew that the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis, belonged to the inner circle of the President's counselors, and he believed that Davis could not oppose a measure so favorable to the South. Douglas therefore sought Davis, and Davis sought the President. The three men had a long conference on Sunday, January 22. The vacillating Pierce soon yielded, and the three agreed that the Missouri Compromise ought to be repealed. Only a few months before, Pierce had renewed his promise that the repose of the people should

¹⁷ This was shown by the Washington *Union*, the organ of the administration.

suffer no shock during his official term, if it were in his power to prevent it. Here was the opportunity of a lifetime, not only to keep a solemn pledge, but to show himself capable of making a stand on principle, and thus to do his country a great service and to make for himself a name in history. The opportunity was lost. Pierce desired the support of the South in the next presidential race; this fact would explain his action; so with Douglas. Of the three men Davis alone acted on principle and conviction.¹⁸

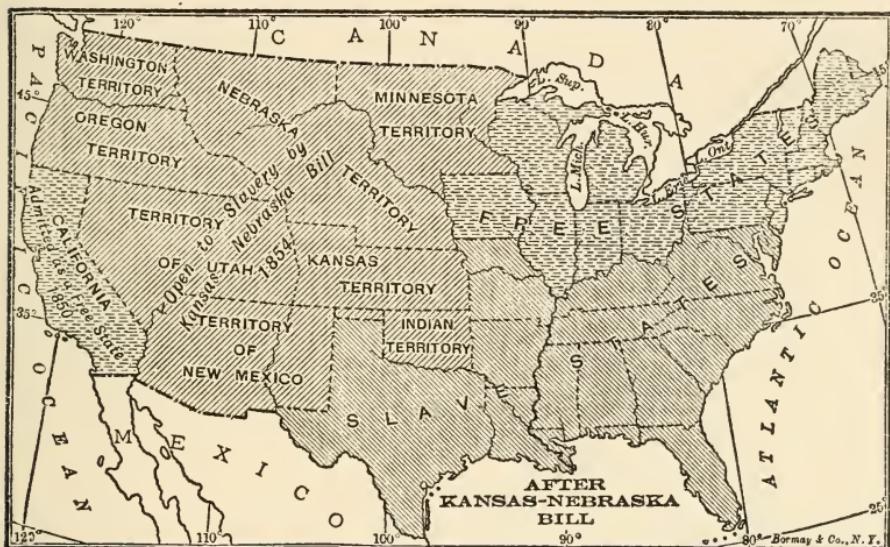
On the day following this conference Douglas offered a second bill in the Senate, embodying the substance of the first, with the addition that it provided for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise¹⁹ by declaring it inoperative, and divided the territory into two parts to be known as Kansas and Nebraska. The Illinois senator defended his bill with great power; but he had not smooth sailing. There were strong men in his own party whom he could not control. Before the close of January a protest known as an "Appeal of the Independent Democrats in Congress to the People of the United States," written by Chase and signed by the Free-soil Democrats, was published and sent broadcast through the North. This was a powerful arraignment of the proposed law, pronouncing it a "gross violation of a

¹⁸ The view of Professor Burgess, that Douglas may have been actuated by his exaggerated notion, as a radical Democrat, of the virtues of the western people and of the importance of local autonomy, should not be wholly rejected. But this view cannot alone account for Douglas's extraordinary action.

¹⁹ In actual practice the Missouri Compromise had been violated. By act of Congress in June, 1836, a large tract of land lying north of the Missouri River and belonging to the territory of Nebraska was incorporated into the state of Missouri. This was soon occupied by slaveholders with their slaves; but the matter attracted little attention at the time.

sacred pledge, a criminal betrayal of precious rights, . . . an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World and free laborers from our own states." The Appeal was published in all parts of the free states, and the response of the people was astonishing for its suddenness and its vehemence.

Chase led the opposition, and his speech, on February 3, revealed his powers and stamped him as one of the strong-



est men of his time. Chase was followed by Seward, Wade, Sumner, and Edward Everett, all of whom took strong ground against the proposed legislation. Douglas's management of his bill in the Senate showed him a master parliamentarian. At length the time came that the final vote was to be taken. It was near midnight on the 3d of March when the Little Giant rose to close the debate. Small of stature, Douglas was nevertheless impressive in appearance, and as he arose on this occasion his face shone with animation and conscious power. Never before had he spoken with

such force as he did that night. The Senate chamber and the galleries were crowded, and, though Douglas spoke all night, the audience remained to hear the last word. Douglas knew that the bill would easily pass the Senate, but he also knew that the North had condemned him, and this was his great opportunity to vindicate himself before the people. The burden of his speech was an endeavor to show that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, of which his critics had made so much, was only an incident of the bill before the Senate; that the main object was to establish the "fundamental principle of popular sovereignty," to relieve Congress and the country in future of all trouble about slavery in the territories, and to remove the vexed question from politics by leaving the whole matter to the inhabitants of the respective territories.

The sleeping city was roused that morning by the boom of cannon that announced the passage of the measure. As Chase walked down the Capitol steps, he exclaimed to Sumner, "They celebrate a present victory, but the echoes they awake will never rest until slavery itself shall die."

The bill then went to the House. Here the opposition was formidable, and the bill passed only after a fierce debate, amid some of the wildest scenes ever known in the House of Representatives. Among the negative votes was that of the sturdy old Missourian, Thomas H. Benton, who, having lost his seat in the Senate because of his independence on the slavery question, had become a member of the House.

The reception of the Kansas-Nebraska Act at the North was such as to make the politicians stand aghast. The voice of the people began to be heard while the measure was yet pending. It came through the press and the pulpit, and through great mass meetings in the large cities. A majority

of the northern state legislatures recorded their disapproval.²⁰ Douglas was denounced on every hand as the betrayer of his country, the Judas Iscariot, and a society of women in Ohio sent him thirty pieces of silver. His middle name, "Arnold," was emphasized to connect him with the archtraitor of the Revolution. Attempting to speak in his own city of Chicago, he was hooted off the stage. By his own statement he "could travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own effigies."

Douglas had made a frightful blunder. He and his followers had enacted into law a measure of vast moment, without having made it an issue in any campaign, without consulting their masters, the people. However popular, however powerful a political leader may be, if he presume too far on the rights and the patience of the multitude, he will find himself crushed by the ponderous weight of public opinion. Douglas was no doubt an honest man at heart. But in this daring play in the presidential game he had failed to count the cost. Brilliant, popular young leader that he was, he had won the American heart as few had ever done; but now he overstepped the bounds of public forbearance, and he soon found himself dashed to the ground like a broken toy, and his presidential prospects forever blasted.²¹

The promoters and friends of the Kansas-Nebraska Act could hardly have been sincere in their claim that it would take the slavery question out of national politics. Anyone might have foreseen that if the people of a territory had this matter to decide, and the friends of slavery and of freedom

²⁰ A few of them took no action. Illinois alone of all the Northern states approved the measure by a small majority of the legislature. The bill was received with great applause at the South.

²¹ Douglas now enjoyed popularity at the South; but this, as will appear later, he had to sacrifice in order to win back the North.

would meet on the ground, each aiming to gain the mastery, there would be a clash. And yet by this law Congress had bound itself not to interfere. The one and only instance in which this law was put into operation was in Kansas, and a sorry exhibition it was, as will be shown hereafter. Again, the seeds of endless strife were sown with the very inception of this bill. The South chose to understand it to mean that a territory has no right to prohibit slavery from its bounds, that it can do this only on becoming a state. On the other hand, the people of the North, including Douglas, took the ground that the people of a territory had the power to vote on the subject of slavery among them at any time during the territorial state. This point of contention alone proved that the Kansas-Nebraska bill had settled nothing.

This act had never been equaled in results by any legislation since the foundation of the government. It gave the finishing blow to the dying Whig party by a final alienation of its northern and southern wings. It brought disruption to the Democratic party, alienated the German vote, hitherto almost solidly Democratic, sacrificed the prestige of the party in New England, in Pennsylvania, and in the Northwest, and it marked the beginning of the end of the long lease of Democratic rule, which had begun with the century under Jefferson. It opened the way for the founding of another great political party with antislavery extension as its corner stone.²²

FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The powerful revulsion in Democratic ranks, occasioned by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, would not subside. Thousands of men who had adhered to the party of Jefferson for a

²² Rhodes, Vol. I, p. 490.

lifetime, men who had stood by Jackson on the bank issue, by Van Buren on the subtreasury, who had adhered to the policy of Polk on the tariff and the results of the Mexican War, men who frowned on abolitionism and made no quarrel with the Fugitive Slave Law—thousands of such men found the Kansas-Nebraska Law unendurable, and they broke away from the party of their fathers and wandered homeless, seeking a political fold. Then there were the northern Whigs. Their party was shattered to fragments, and its future was hopeless. Some of them joined the Democrats, but the great majority were deterred by prejudice, by conviction, or by the Kansas-Nebraska Law. The old Free-soilers were also ready for some new movement.

A third element of homeless wanderers came a little later from the American or Know-nothing party, to which it is now time to give a moment's notice.

From far back in the thirties a strong feeling of nativism, aimed against foreigners, and especially against Roman Catholic foreigners, showed itself in different parts of the country, and it often resulted in riots. In 1841 a state convention in Louisiana founded the American Republican party, afterward called the Native-American party. This movement, whose chief principles were to put only native born Americans into office and to extend the naturalization period to twenty-one years, soon spread to the North. It elected a mayor in New York City in 1844, and had half a dozen members of Congress the following year. But as the Mexican War and slavery came to absorb public attention, the movement subsided, and not a member did the party send to the Congress that met in 1849. But the upheavals in Europe in 1848 and the discovery of gold in California caused a rush of emigrants from Europe greater than ever

before to the shores of America.²³ This reawakened the old anti-foreigner feeling, and in 1852 the Know-nothing party, based on the principles of the old Native-American party, was founded. At first it was a secret, oath-bound organization, and when its members were asked on what the order was based and what it stood for, they answered, as their oath required, "I don't know;" hence the name Know-nothing. The movement spread like a conflagration. Many joined it, not because they were in sympathy with it, but because, as Von Holst says, they were ready to grasp, "with impatient and uncritical zeal, the first new thing" that pleased their fancy.²⁴ After the Compromise of 1850, and the crushing defeat of Scott in 1852, a great number of Whigs, no longer interested in their own party, joined the Know-nothings. The secret vote of the party determined many local elections and upset all calculations of the politicians.

As the Know-nothings grew to national dimensions, they threw aside their secrecy, and nominated their own candidates for office. In 1854 they carried the elections in Massachusetts and Delaware. The following year, when the revulsion against the Kansas-Nebraska Democrats was at its height, the Know-nothings carried a majority of the Northern states and a few in the South. But the party could not endure as a permanent political factor. It lacked the moral background, the broad, fundamental principles necessary to the governing of the nation. Moreover, it refused to express an opinion on the greatest issue of the times, the extension of slavery into the territories. Most men had positive convictions on this question, and they

²³ McMasters's "With the Fathers," p. 97.

²⁴ Vol. V, p. 82.

would remain with a party that refused to take one side or the other only so long as there was no better one to join. The party began crumbling before the close of the year 1855, and in consequence a vast number of voters was free to join the new political party that was about to be formed.

With all this material at hand—the anti-Nebraska Democrats, the old line Whigs, the free-soilers, and the fragments of the dissolving Know-nothing party—the time was ripe for the formation of a new political party. In the early spring of 1854 the rumor was rife at Washington that a new national party would be formed on the basis of non-extension of slavery; but some of the northern leaders, including Seward, were not favorable to the new movement. Seward took the ground that the Whig party should be reorganized on the slavery subject, and continued under the old name. There were several objections to this, the chief of which was that the Democrats who wished to join the movement were loath to unite with their old political rival. Meantime, while the politicians were undecided, there was a movement of the people. As early as March 20, 1854, in the little town of Ripon, Wisconsin, several hundred citizens met in the townhall, and passed resolutions declaring that a new national party should be formed, and they suggested the name Republican. A similar movement in Vermont followed a few days later. On the 6th of July a great mass meeting was held at Jackson, Michigan, and in the resolutions adopted amid the greatest enthusiasm it demanded the repeal of the Kansas-Nebraska and the Fugitive Slave laws, pronounced slavery a "moral, social, and political evil," and agreed, under the name Republican, to oppose the extension of slavery. On the 13th of July anti-Nebraska state conventions were held in Wisconsin,

Indiana, Ohio, and Vermont. Nothing was easier to see than that the North was on the eve of an unusual uprising of the people.

The temperance question also received much attention at this period. In 1851 Maine passed her anti-liquor law, which is still in force. The movement spread through the North, and resulted in the enactment of prohibitory laws in Michigan and in most of the New England states. The temperance movement was therefore a powerful political factor at the moment when the new party was coming into existence, and the leading temperance men were, for the most part, among the leaders against the extension of slavery.

Soon came the autumn elections, and the anti-Nebraska people were successful in almost every northern state. They won their victories under different names, such as Fusion, Whig, anti-Nebraska, and the like, the name Republican not having come into general use, but the slavery question was the chief issue in every case. The House of Representatives that passed Douglas's famous bill was Democratic by a majority of eighty-four; in the next House the Democrats were in the minority by seventy-five. The party had lost in the North above three hundred and forty thousand in the popular vote. This was the preliminary answer of the North to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; but this was only a beginning.

The Thirty-fourth Congress met in December, 1855. In the House the Democratic majority had been swept away, but the opposition was a motley crowd. There were Whigs, anti-Nebraskas, Know-nothings, and Republicans, all commingled, and while they were easily able to prevent the election of a Democratic speaker, they found it very diffi-

cult to concentrate on a choice of their own. At length their attention was turned toward Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts. Banks was a man of commanding presence and of fluent rhetoric. He had been elected to the preceding Congress as a Democrat, but, having now joined the Republican movement, he stood for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. After a most exciting contest of two months, the House having decided that a plurality should elect, the prize fell to Banks. This election was pronounced by Greeley the first victory of freedom over slavery in the memory of living men.

We return to our subject, the formation of the Republican party. During the speakership contest, the opposition was often spoken of as "Republican." This the Democrats did not like, as it was the old name used by Jefferson to designate their own party in its youth. They suggested, therefore, that the new organization be termed "Black Republican," as it persistently favored the black man. The Republican party, however, had as yet no official existence. The movement had been spontaneous, and had spread over the entire North, and it was left for Pittsburg to become the official birthplace of the new party. But three weeks after the election of Banks, a national convention met in that city, and all the free states except California were represented. Francis P. Blair, the former friend and confidant of President Jackson, was made chairman, and the address was drawn up by Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*. Here the Republican party was officially founded, with the non-extension of slavery as its chief corner stone. Meeting on Washington's birthday, the convention called for another national convention of the newly founded party, to be held in Philadelphia on the anniversary

of the battle of Bunker Hill, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President. This brings us to the

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856

On the same day of the meeting of the Pittsburg convention the American or Know-nothing party held its national convention in Philadelphia. The keynote of its platform was that Americans must rule America. It nominated former President Fillmore for President, and Andrew Jackson Donelson of Tennessee for Vice President. Before adjourning, however, this convention suffered a serious disruption. The northern delegates demanded an expression on the slavery question, and, on being refused, they, to the number of seventy-one, seceded from the convention. They afterward met and nominated Speaker Banks; but he declined, and they joined the Republicans. The scattered remaining fragments of the Whig party ratified the nominations of the Know-nothings, in a convention held in Baltimore in September.

The Democratic convention, which met at Cincinnati on the 2d of June, directed all eyes to itself. Three prominent candidates had been freely talked of for several months—Douglas, Pierce, and James Buchanan. The support of Douglas and Pierce came chiefly from the South. But there were grave fears that neither could carry a single northern state. The call for Buchanan came from the North, and for two reasons he was a far stronger candidate than either of the others: first, he had spent the preceding three years in England and was the only leading man in the party who was not tainted with Kansas-Nebraskaism; second, he was probably the only Democrat who could secure the vote

of Pennsylvania, which was considered essential to success. Buchanan, though not the choice of the South, was not unacceptable to that section, for in his long congressional career he had never given a vote contrary to southern interests. He was expected, however, to give an expression on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and this he did by stating that it met his approval.²⁵ For this the northern Democrats forgave him, as well as for the part he had taken in the Ostend Manifesto; and the convention nominated him on the seventeenth ballot.

John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky was nominated for Vice President. The platform adopted declared the satisfaction of the party with the Kansas-Nebraska Law, and pronounced against all attempts to agitate the slavery question, "under whatever shape or color" the attempt should be made.

The Republican convention met in Philadelphia at the appointed time. No party was ever founded on purer motives than was this new-born party. No convention was ever composed of more unselfish, true-hearted, patriotic men than was this convention; and yet, strange to say, no great convention ever made a greater blunder in the selection of a candidate than did this one.²⁶ The serious defect in the party was its want of a national leader. Seward was the leader of Republican thought, and was the logical candidate, but he had not identified himself with the party at its founding; and although he had now done so, he refused to come forward, or to have his friends put him forward, as an aspirant for the nomination. Chase was second in im-

²⁵ Buchanan had expressed this sentiment in a letter some months previously. This letter was now published.

²⁶ See Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 182.

portance. He had been elected governor of Ohio the preceding year by a majority of seventy-five thousand. But he had long been known as a Free-soil Democrat, and for this and other reasons he failed to secure a large following. Lincoln of Illinois had met the arguments of Douglas the year before with unanswerable logic on the great question before the country ; but he was little known out of his own state, and his name was not proposed for the first place on the ticket. The aged Judge McLean, a man of spotless integrity, was seriously considered by many. He had served in the cabinets of Monroe and John Quincy Adams, and had been appointed to the supreme bench by Jackson. But all this was against him. The party was newly born. It was filled with young blood; it stepped forth in the consciousness of the strength of youth. To bury the past, to grapple with the things of to-day and of the future, became its unwritten motto. And this feeling led to a desire for a candidate without a political past, one who would inspire the youth ; and the party found its man in John C. Frémont of California.

We have noticed on a preceding page how Frémont had won public attention by his romantic love affair and marriage with Jessie Benton, by his daring explorations in the wild regions of the Rocky Mountains, and by his driving the Mexicans out of California. These things had cast a glamour of romance about the name of Frémont—and that was all. If he were more than an adventurer, the world had not discovered the fact. Of a knowledge of statesmanship he had developed no symptoms. If he were a man of character, and were capable of assuming responsibility, the public had not yet found it out. And yet this great convention, composed of wise, educated, experienced men, at

a moment when a great crisis in the government was seen to be approaching, nominated Frémont for President on the first ballot by an almost unanimous vote. Nor was he a dark horse; his candidacy had been deliberately discussed for months. But perhaps this was all the work of a Providential Hand. Had Seward, or Chase, or McLean been nominated, he might have been elected, and the Civil War might have come too soon. The new party needed four years more to solidify, and it needed a mighty man at the helm, who was to develop within the four years.

The convention chose William L. Dayton of New Jersey for second place on the ticket. It adopted a platform whose keynote was a demand that Congress prohibit in the territories those "twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."

The campaign was almost as remarkable as that of 1840. There was a deep and irreconcilable difference between the northern and southern Democrats concerning their different interpretations of the Kansas-Nebraska Law. This it was tacitly decided to suppress, though four years hence, when this difference could be smothered no longer, it tore the party to pieces.

The Democrats mercilessly probed the character of Frémont, accusing him of corrupt dealings in California; nor were these charges ever successfully answered. Buchanan, on the other hand, was a man of unassailable character, and the conservative men of the country felt that the nation would be safe in his hands. In many of the Republican meetings they shouted lustily for "free speech, free soil, and Frémont"; but in the main the great issue of slavery was discussed, rather than the candidate.

Before the close of the campaign many thoughtful Re-

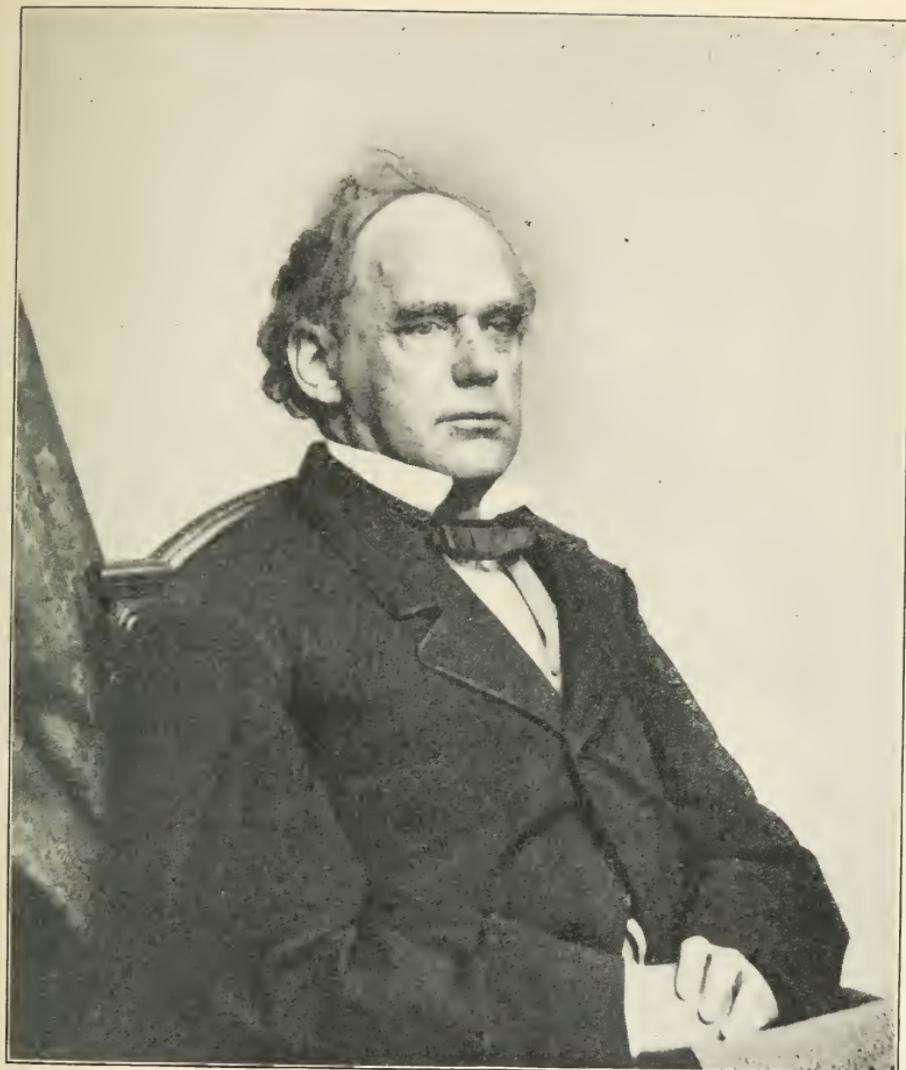
publicans began to feel that their convention had made a mistake. The South was free in threats to secede, if Frémont were elected.²⁷ These threats the Republicans refused to take seriously, but the events of four years later proved the depths of their foundation. But the calamity was averted. Buchanan was elected, and the dragon was left to slumber four years more.

Buchanan secured the votes of all the Southern states, save one, of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California, while Frémont carried all the rest of the North, and Fillmore the solitary state of Maryland.²⁸ The charge against the Republican party, that it was sectional and not national, was shown by the returns to be true. In eleven Southern states not a vote was cast for Frémont, and in none of the remaining four did his vote reach four hundred.²⁹ The subsequent career of Frémont showed the wisdom of the country in not electing him President in 1856. All parties now turned to the President elect. Would he lean toward the North or the South? A neutral ground was hardly possible. He professed to believe, as was shown by his inaugural address, that slavery agitation was approaching its end, whereas it was only approaching its worst stage. Four of the new Cabinet were from the slave states, the ablest of whom was Howell Cobb of Georgia, secretary of the treasury; and three, with Cass as secretary of state, were from the free states. There was one subject, which we must now consider, the most exciting question of the

²⁷ Ex-President Tyler wrote that "the success of the Black Republicans would be the knell of the Union." Governor Wise of Virginia wrote that if Frémont were elected, the Union could not last a year.

²⁸ The electoral vote was Buchanan, 174; Fremont, 114; and Fillmore, 8.

²⁹ See Stanwood, p. 210.



1808—SALMON PORTLAND CHASE—1873.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the possession of Frederick H. Meserve,
New York.

times, to which the new administration must give immediate attention.

THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

We must now go back a few years and take up the tragic story of Kansas. No other state in the Union, not even those bathed in the blood of the Indian wars of colonial days, can surpass this state in the fierce contests of its early years. While this book makes no pretense of giving state history, the early history of Kansas must be narrated, as the subject belongs to national history. The territory of Kansas comprised the vast undulating prairie, covered with Indian reservations, extending westward from Missouri to the base of the Rocky Mountains.³⁰ Scarcely had the Kansas-Nebraska bill become a law, in 1854, when the people of western Missouri began pouring into the territory and taking up claims with the avowed purpose of making it a slave state. Kansas was a prize of unmeasured value to the South. The balance in the Senate had been broken by the admission of California. If now the slave power could regain its equal representation by making Kansas a slave state, if the balance could be thus restored, never again would a free state be suffered to enter the Union without its being offset by the admission of a slave state. So reasoned the slaveholders. They believed further that Kansas was the key to the whole Southwest. "If Kansas is abolitionized," wrote Senator Atchison, "Missouri ceases to be a slave state, New Mexico becomes a free state, California remains a free state; but if we secure Kansas as a slave state, Missouri is secure; New Mexico and southern California, if not all of it, becomes a slave state; in a word, the

³⁰ Since cut down to 81,700 square miles. It then comprised 126,000.

prosperity or ruin of the whole South depends on the Kansas struggle."³¹ Hence we see the vital importance to the South of securing Kansas to slavery, whatever the cost. This explains the early rush of the Missourians into the territory.

Meantime the people of New England, hearing of this action of the Missouri people, determined to make a bold, extensive movement toward claiming Kansas for freedom. Eli Thayer of Massachusetts, a shrewd, practical Yankee, had in the early spring organized the Emigrant Aid Company for the purpose of planting free labor in Kansas. He soon enlisted the interest and aid of such public-spirited men as Charles Francis Adams, Amos A. Lawrence, Edward Everett Hale, and Horace Greeley, raised a large sum of money, and by July he had a company of emigrants moving toward Kansas. This company, led by Charles Robinson, who had become inured to frontier life in California, was augmented along the way, and by December, 1854, several thousand settlers from the free states had pitched their tents on the rich bottom lands of the Kansas River. They founded Lawrence, Topeka, and other towns, and gave every indication that they had come to stay. The Missourians, who had founded Atchison, Lecompton, and Leavenworth along the Missouri, determined to drive the Free-soilers from the territory.

President Pierce had appointed Andrew H. Reeder of Pennsylvania governor of Kansas. Reeder was a positive Democrat, in full sympathy with the Kansas-Nebraska Law, and a strong friend of the South. The interests of slavery were thought to be safe in his hands. But Reeder was honest, and when he reached Kansas and witnessed

³¹ *New York Tribune*, November 7, 1855.

the violence of the Missouri people and their determination to make Kansas a slave state by fair means or foul, his soul revolted against such proceedings, and he resolved to see fair play. The election of a territorial legislature brought matters to a crisis. On election day five thousand Missourians, led by United States Senator Atchison, came across the border armed with muskets, pistols, and bowie-knives.³² This invading force drove out or intimidated the election judges who were not favorable to them, and carried the election in the most high-handed manner. A recent census had shown that there were but 2,905 voters in the territory, but over six thousand votes were cast.

When this legislature met it proceeded to enact a code of laws that may be classed among the curiosities of modern literature. A few specimens are as follows: "Any person . . . convicted of raising a rebellion . . . of slaves, free negroes, or mulattoes, in this territory shall suffer death." "If any free person shall, by speaking, writing, or printing, advise, persuade, or induce, any slaves to rebel; etc., . . . such person shall suffer death." It also provided the death penalty, or ten years' imprisonment, for any one who should aid in the escape of a slave, and that no person opposed to slavery should sit on a jury in the prosecution for the violations of the above-mentioned laws. An imprisonment of two years was imposed for any one who denied the legal existence of slavery in the territory! All these acts were vetoed by Governor Reeder and passed over his veto. The laws, it will be noticed, took no account of the popular sovereignty, advocated by Douglas, but assumed

³² Atchison had been chosen president of the Senate on the death of Vice President King, and for several years there was but one life between him and the presidency of the United States.

that slavery already existed in the territory;³³ and this without putting the subject to a vote of the people. At this moment there were less than fifty actual settlers in the territory who owned slaves; more than nine tenths of the people were devoted to freedom. The bias of Governor Reeder was wholly with the proslavery party when he went to Kansas; but he had an honest desire to be fair to the other side. This was wholly displeasing to the proslavery party, and they besought the President to recall him. Mr. Pierce, who was now notoriously subservient to the slave power, heeded their wishes, dismissed Reeder and appointed Wilson Shannon, a former member of Congress from Ohio, to fill the place. But Reeder did not return to the East; he became a resident of Kansas and joined the free-state party. His instincts of a lifetime on the slave question had been revolutionized by a few months among the border ruffians in Kansas.

The ostensible reason for dismissing Reeder was for speculating in land; the real reason was that he did not please the proslavery party.

The free-state settlers were not disposed to sit idle in the face of the usurpation of the Missourians. Led by Robinson, they called a convention to meet at Big Springs; they repudiated the spurious legislature and its infamous laws, nominated Reeder for Congress, and fixed October 9, 1855, as election day. The proslavery party set October 1, as election day, and nominated Whitfield, one of their number, for Congress. Thus the two parties voted on different days; each elected its man, to be sure; both men went to Washington, and both were refused admission to the House.

³³ Von Holst, Vol. V, p. 159.

But the free-state settlers did not stop at this. At the election of October 9 they chose delegates to a constitutional convention. This convention met at Topeka the same month, framed a constitution making Kansas a free state, and, after its ratification by the people at an election in December, at which the proslavery party refused to vote, applied for admission into the Union.³⁴ Under this constitution Robinson was chosen governor. But in January President Pierce, in a special message, denounced the whole Topeka movement as rebellion, and declared his intention to put down all such proceedings with national troops. The Topeka legislature again met, and was dispersed by United States troops, and Robinson, Reeder, and others were indicted for high treason.

Such was the condition in Kansas at the opening of the presidential year of 1856, and it became one of the leading issues of the campaign. The whole country was aroused over reports from Kansas, and it was impossible that such a question remain long out of the halls of Congress, notwithstanding the claim of Douglas that his famous bill would remove the slavery question from national politics. In May, 1856, Senator Sumner made a powerful speech on "The Crime against Kansas." The speech was a fearful arraignment of the slave power. But the speaker went out of his way to abuse certain senators whom he did not like, especially Senator Butler of South Carolina, who was then absent from the city, and who had made no special personal attack on Sumner.

³⁴ The impression that the free-state people were abolitionists was erroneous. This free-state constitution forbade free negroes, as well as slaves, from entering the state. The Abolitionists of the Garrison type would have nothing to do with the Kansas movement from the beginning.

Charles Sumner, with all his learning, was a narrow-minded man. He was opinionated, egotistical, and incapable of giving credit to another for an honest difference of opinion. But he was sincerely honest and courageous.³⁵ His espousal of the cause of the slave when that cause was very unpopular rose from the innermost depths of his soul. His furious attack on Butler was occasioned by the indignation expressed by the latter at the audacity of the Topeka convention in applying for statehood. But Sumner suffered severely for his extravagance. Two days after making this speech, as he sat at his desk writing, after the Senate had adjourned, he was assaulted with a cane by Preston Brooks, a member of the House and a relative of Senator Butler. Brooks rained blows on Sumner's head with great ferocity. Sumner sat so near his desk that he had no chance to defend himself; but at length he rose, wrenching the desk from its fastenings. Brooks than grappled with him and continued his blows until Sumner fell bleeding and unconscious to the floor.

So great were the injuries of the Massachusetts senator that he did not fully recover for four years; and indeed, never after this assault was he the powerful, robust athlete that he had been before. No incident in many years revealed more vividly the vast gulf between the North and the South than did the different manner of their receiving the news of this assault on Sumner.³⁶ Throughout the North the deed was denounced as a cowardly outrage, un-

³⁵ While he was uttering this speech, in which he attacked Senator Douglas also without mercy, the latter said to a friend: "Do you hear that man? He may be a fool, but I tell you that he has pluck." Poore's "Reminiscences," Vol. I, p. 461.

³⁶ Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 143.

worthy of any but a bully and a thug. At the South, where Sumner was hated above all men, the verdict was that he received only the punishment he deserved. Brooks was hailed as a champion and a hero, and was presented with many canes. He resigned his seat in the House because of a majority vote — not the necessary two thirds — for his expulsion; but he was immediately reelected by his district.³⁷

Meantime matters were growing worse on the plains of Kansas. On the day that intervened between the closing of Sumner's speech and the assault by Brooks the town of Lawrence was sacked by a mob. The House of Representatives sent a committee of three to Kansas to investigate matters and report. This committee, composed of William A. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, after examining several hundred witnesses, reported in July. Howard and Sherman reported favorably to the free-state party, but agreed that the election of Reeder to Congress, as that of Whitfield, was illegal. Oliver made a minority report favoring the southern view.

With the attack on Lawrence the Civil War in Kansas may be said to have begun. Soon after this occurred the massacre of Pottawatomie, the leader of which was John Brown. Brown had come from the East to join his sons, who had been among the early settlers of Kansas. He was an ascetic and a fanatic. He had come to Kansas to make it a free state at any hazard. He regarded slavery with a mortal hatred, and while his courage was unlimited and his intentions upright, his soul was too utterly narrow to see

³⁷ Brooks died the following January, and Butler in May of the same year.

a thing in its true light. He believed that the only way to free the slaves was to kill the slaveholders. "Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission of sins," said John Brown.

A few free-state men, one of whom was a neighbor of Brown, had been killed by the opposite party, and Brown determined that an equal number of them should suffer death to expiate the crime. He organized a night raid — his sons and a few others — and started on his bloody errand. They called at one farmhouse after another and slew the men in cold blood. He did not inquire if they were guilty or not guilty; enough if they belonged to the opposite party. One man was dragged from the presence of a sick wife. Her pleadings that he be spared were not heeded. He was murdered in cold blood in the road before his house. Before the end of that bloody night raid Brown's party had put six or seven men to death — for no crime except that they belonged to the opposite party and had made threats — an offense of which Brown's party were equally guilty. When the news of this ghastly work was flashed over the country, the people in general refused to believe it; and to the credit of the free-state people in Kansas, they repudiated it as wholly unwarranted.

The war went on in Kansas. Armed guerrilla bands traversed the country, and fought when they met opponents. About two hundred people were killed in one year. But it is needless to give further details. Governor Shannon, on coming to Kansas, was even more favorable to the South than Reeder had been; but even he grew weary of the demands and the methods of the slavery party, and resigned the office. John W. Geary of Pennsylvania was appointed the next governor. Geary had been in the Mex-

ican War, and was the first commander of the City of Mexico after its surrender. He was afterward the first mayor of San Francisco, but had returned to the East. He accepted the governorship of Kansas, arrived in the territory in September, and soon had a semblance of order among the people. Geary was a strong executive, and, like Reeder, he honestly desired to do justice to both sides. The emigration from the North and the South still continued; but the North had a great advantage over the South. In the North there was a large floating population who found it easy to pack their goods and go to the West; but the slaveholder was also a land owner. He found it unprofitable, almost impossible, to migrate to the new territory; and if he induced the poor whites of his section to go, they were apt to espouse the cause of the free-soilers. It was now believed throughout the country that Kansas would become a free state. But the Missourians had not given up. They soon came to dislike Governor Geary. They threatened to assassinate him, and they made his duties so uncomfortable that he resigned the position on the 4th of March, the day on which James Buchanan became President of the United States. Behold, the third of the Kansas-Nebraska bill Democrats who had gone west to put that popular-sovereignty law into operation — and all had turned free state or had resigned because they could not endure the methods of the slavery party.

James Buchanan, during the campaign of the preceding summer, had promised that Kansas should have justice if he were elected. Many supported him on this promise. We shall see if he kept his word. He chose for governor Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, his life-long friend, his fellow-member of the Polk Cabinet, and the author of the

Walker Tariff. Walker accepted with much reluctance, only after the President had promised to sustain him in dealing justice to both sides. Arriving in Kansas late in May, 1857, he pronounced his inaugural, a document that the President and Douglas had read and approved. Walker was a slaveholder and a Democrat of the old school; and he had hoped to see Kansas a slave state. But he was honest to the core; and when he looked over the field and saw that three fourths of the people were of the free-state party, and that Kansas could not be made a slave state by fair means, he determined not to undertake the task. Furthermore, he determined to resist the Missourians if they attempted to use fraud. An election was called for June 15, to choose delegates to a constitutional convention. The free-state people were suspicious, and they refused to vote; the other side elected the delegates. The governor had promised that any constitution framed should be submitted to a vote of the people. The convention met at Lecompton in September, and it soon brought forth the notorious Lecompton constitution.

When it became known to the southern leaders at Washington that this Lecompton convention was composed of proslavery men, a movement was set on foot to have the territory apply for immediate statehood under this proslavery constitution which they produced. But the people of Kansas were clamorous in demanding a vote on their constitution. Governor Walker had promised them this right. James Buchanan had written him, as late as August 12, that he would sustain him. "I am willing to stand or fall, on this question of submitting the constitution to the *bona fide* settlers of the territory," wrote the President. This promise was doubtless honestly given;

but in the following months the President experienced a change of heart. He fell under the spell of the southern leaders as completely as Pierce had done, and he determined to force the admission of Kansas under the slavery constitution framed at Lecompton.

Meantime the proslavery leaders in Kansas, to make a show of fairness, decided to submit their constitution in part to a vote of the people, and by an ingenious method they would save the constitution. The vote was to be for the Lecompton constitution *with* slavery, or for the constitution *without* slavery. No opportunity was given to vote *against* the constitution. But the whole arrangement was a farce and a snare; for if the constitution without slavery was adopted, it still contained the clause, "the right of property in slaves now in the territory shall in no measure be interfered with," and Kansas would practically become a slave state. The free-state settlers therefore refused to vote at all. This scheme did not originate in Kansas; it was hatched in Washington, in the brain of the southern politicians. But this fact is less strange than the fact that this President from Pennsylvania espoused the cause and sacrificed himself and his party in attempting to carry it out. Governor Walker stood aghast at these proceedings, which he could not prevent. A minion of the slave power approached him and declared that if he would espouse the cause of the Lecompton constitution, the presidency of the United States lay open to him.³⁸ But Walker spurned the offer, pronounced the scheme a "vile fraud, a base counterfeit," and declared that he would break with the administration rather than take a hand in the dastardly business.

³⁸ Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 279.

So much for Robert J. Walker; but James Buchanan—

On the 2d of February, 1858, President Buchanan did the chief historic act of his long public life. Fillmore had signed the Fugitive Slave Law because he could scarcely help doing so—the country was in danger. Pierce had agreed to the Kansas-Nebraska bill because he hoped thereby to make his reëlection sure. Both are unforgiven by the American people. But Buchanan did worse than either. There was no danger of secession at this moment. Buchanan had declared that he would not be a candidate for re-election. He had nothing to lose. Now was his opportunity to make a stand for the right, to cover his name with honor and to make himself a hero in the eyes of future America. But he lacked the requisite backbone; his subserviency to the hypnotic influence of the slave power was complete; he threw away the opportunity of a lifetime.

On the 2d of February he sent to Congress a copy of the Lecompton constitution, which he knew to have been conceived in iniquity and born in sin, and urged that Kansas be admitted under it, declaring that Kansas is “at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina.” The most astonishing thing about this was the striking example it gave of the power of the South over its devotees from the North. Buchanan was not at heart an unjust man, and yet no living man to-day can believe that in this case he acted on principle. He was the victim of hypnotism.

Now for a second time another great figure takes the center of the stage—Stephen A. Douglas. Four years ago Douglas, standing in the same place, had pleaded for a bad cause—the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Now he stands for a principle, for justice; and the millions that execrated him then now admire and applaud him to the echo.

He had shown himself a giant then ; now he becomes a hero. There is no love stronger than the love for an old enemy who has become a friend. What were the feelings of Douglas when he saw the miserable failure of his boasted popular sovereignty, we know not. He owed the country much for his, possibly unintentional, deception ; and he partially paid the debt. Buchanan might truckle to the slave power without a visible reason. Not so with Douglas. Buchanan was a follower ; Douglas was a leader. He had sacrificed much to win the South in the hope of gaining the presidency. That hope gone, he was ready to be himself, to break with the South for the sake of justice.

Douglas saw that the Lecompton constitution was the product of fraud, and determined to oppose it. Calling on the President some time before the sending of the message of February 2, he declared his intention to oppose the Lecompton constitution in the Senate, unless it were honestly submitted to the voters of Kansas. The President became enraged ; he warned Douglas that no leading Democrat ever broke with the administration without being crushed. Douglas answered defiantly and went his way. Soon after this the subject came before the Senate, and Douglas took the floor against the Lecompton constitution. His speech was great. Never before had he displayed his powers to greater advantage. "The administration and the slave power are broken," wrote Seward to his wife ; "the triumph of freedom is not only assured, but near." Douglas won, and the Lecompton constitution was defeated, not in the Senate, but in the House. And Douglas won more ; he re-won the laurels he had lost in the North, and became again the Democratic idol in that section, so to remain to the last moment of his life. But Douglas had not espoused the

cause of the slave, nor even that of free Kansas. He had no apparent convictions on slavery, and professed not to care if it was "voted down or voted up." He simply stood for justice in Kansas, and it was only justice that the North was now demanding.

Our story of "Bleeding Kansas" is near its end. The people of the territory eventually did vote on the Lecompton constitution and defeated it by more than ten thousand majority. Congress had meantime passed the "English bill," introduced by W. H. English, a member of the House from Indiana, by which Kansas was offered a large grant of public land, if the people would adopt the Lecompton constitution. But this bribe was rejected also; and the South now abandoned all hope of making Kansas a slave state. At length Kansas entered the Union on the eve of the Great Rebellion as a free state. Buchanan's policy cost his party dear. It swept New York, New Jersey, and even Pennsylvania into the Republican column.³⁹ And it cost *him* dear. This act concerning Kansas did more than all else to place the name of Buchanan among the least honored names of American Presidents.

DRED SCOTT DECISION

Two days after Mr. Buchanan became President the most famous Supreme Court decision in the annals of the United States was announced to the country.

Dred Scott was a negro slave owned by Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon in the employ of the government. For some years the doctor was stationed in Illinois, then at Fort Snelling in the territory that afterward became Minnesota. Here he held his slave for two years, when he returned to

³⁹ Forney's "Anecdotes of Public Men," Vol. I, p. 120.

his home in Missouri. Meantime Dred Scott had married a woman of his own race, owned by the same master, and they had two children. After their return to Missouri, and after they had been sold to another master, Dred Scott brought suit for his freedom and that of his family, on the ground that they had been illegally held in bondage in a territory dedicated to freedom by the Missouri Compromise. He won in a St. Louis court, but the decision was reversed by the Supreme Court of Missouri, after which the case was carried to the United States Circuit Court, and then to the Supreme Court of the United States. The case in itself was of little importance, but for the deep constitutional questions it involved. At first the Supreme Court intended to confine itself to the simple case in hand; but here was an opportunity to make a decision on the constitutionality of the Missouri restriction of 1820, and the opportunity was not thrown away. As five of the nine justices were from slave states, it was believed that the court would pronounce in favor of the doctrine of Calhoun, which had taken a powerful hold on the southern heart; namely, that Congress has no power to prohibit slavery in any United States territory.

The opinion rendered by Chief Justice Taney was the one that attracted general attention, though six of his fellow-justices pronounced similar decisions, while two, Justices Curtis and McLean, dissented. In this decision the chief justice not only remanded Dred Scott to slavery;⁴⁰ he went out of his way to solemnly pronounce the Missouri Compromise line null and void (though this point had not been considered by the lower courts), and he denied the right of Congress or of a territorial legislature to make any restrictions concerning slavery in any territory. He also affirmed

⁴⁰ Dred Scott and his family were afterward set free by their owner.

that no slave or descendant of slaves had the right to sue in the courts. He declared that no negroes born of slave parents were citizens of the United States at the time of forming the Constitution, nor had Congress or any state the right to make them or their descendants citizens. He quoted with apparent approval the prevalent feeling, as he claimed, of earlier times, that the negro had no rights that a white man was bound to respect, and asserted further that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution "the unhappy black race was never thought of or spoken of except as property."

In this last statement the chief justice was woefully in error. Even before the Revolution Lord Mansfield had rendered his famous decision which forbade slavery on English soil and lifted the black man to the level of other men before the law; in our own country most of the leading men of the early period—Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and others—strongly favored the ultimate emancipation of all slaves. Jefferson, when President, demanded the return of the three black men who had been seized on the deck of the *Chesapeake*; and even the Constitution itself speaks of *persons* bound to service, referring to the negroes, and provides that three fifths of them be counted in making the census.⁴¹ How can Taney's statement that the black man was considered only as property stand before such facts as these? The assertion that a slave or a descendant of slaves had no standing before the law must fall before the patent facts of history, for, as Justice Curtis pointed out, in five of thirteen states at the formation of the Union colored men had the right to vote. The decision that the Missouri restriction was invalid rendered the repeal of that measure in the

⁴¹ See the opinion rendered by Justice Curtis.



1813—STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS—1861.

From an original Brady negative in the War Department, Washington, D.C.



Kansas-Nebraska Law superfluous, and annihilated Douglas's theory of popular sovereignty. The Republican party, which had carried eleven states in the recent election, had been founded on the principle of congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories, which the court now pronounced forever beyond the power of Congress.

This extraordinary decision pleased the ultra-slaveholders of the South, and it stunned the North. But it had defenders at the North, led by Stephen A. Douglas, who took much pride in the fact that the Missouri Compromise, which his bill had repealed, had now been pronounced null and void by the highest tribunal of the land; but he failed to comprehend that this same decision had rendered his boasted popular sovereignty a dead letter. The great body of the people of the North, however, condemned this unjust decision of the court.

Roger B. Taney had succeeded the great jurist, John Marshall, having been appointed by President Jackson as a reward for faithfulness in removing the deposits from the United States Bank. Taney was a man of singularly pure and upright life; he was also a great lawyer and jurist; he served his country long and faithfully; but the great public of to-day remembers him only for the odious Dred Scott decision, and with this his name is and must ever be inseparably linked. Yet he probably did what he believed to be right; he simply voiced the sentiment of the slaveholding interests to which he belonged.

Could the people continue to revere that august tribunal which had never before ceased to command their profound respect? Must they accept this decision as the final word on this great question on which the country was divided? If so, the Republican party must disband or at least abandon

the fundamental principle on which it was founded, and millions of men and women must give up their political conscience of a lifetime. But no such result followed. The fact is that Taney had descended from giving a judicial decision to a discussion of a political question from a partisan standpoint. He had grappled, for partisan reasons, with constitutional questions on which he had not been called to make a decision. If, then, the esteem in which the court had hitherto been held was lessened by this decision, the fault lay wholly with the court. It must not be forgotten that though the Supreme Court passes judgment on matters of the people, the people as a whole sit in judgment on the court, and the latter exists for their good and is their servant.

The Dred Scott decision brought forth severe criticisms from the North. Many were fierce with anger. The slave power was aggressive as never before. It had full control of the government. Would it become national and overspread the whole land? The Kansas-Nebraska Law was audacious; it threw the country into a state of exceeding disquiet. Now came the Dred Scott decision, and this was followed by the attempt of the administration to force the Lecompton constitution on Kansas. These powerful blows were dealt, not by the people, but by the politicians. The great public writhed like a wounded giant, conscious of superior strength, but undecided what to do. But every blow dealt by the slave power contributed to its downfall in the end,—merely awakened the greater fury and hastened the final appeal to the sword.

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

The second senatorial term of Stephen A. Douglas was drawing to a close. The legislature to be chosen in Illinois

in 1858 must name his successor. He was again popular throughout the North. When it was seen that his popular sovereignty would make Kansas, and of course all territories north of it, free states;⁴² when it was seen that Douglas, by his admirable courage in the face of an angry administration, had saved Kansas from the Lecompton abomination, his star again rose to the zenith. Many Republicans now joined in applauding him, and the leading eastern members of that party favored his return to the Senate, in the hope that his fight with the administration would redound to Republican advantage.

Douglas was one of the most striking figures of his generation. Born among the New England hills two months before the death of his father, he migrated to the prairied West in early manhood. Settling in Illinois without money and without friends, he taught school and read law. He soon found the field for which above all else he was fitted—the field of politics. After serving in various official stations in his adopted state, he entered the lower House of Congress in 1843. At first he was uncouth in manners, but he quickly adapted himself to the ways of polite society and soon became a central figure in the highest social circles. “To see him threading the glittering crowd with a pleasant smile or a kind word for everybody, one would take him for a trained courtier.”⁴³ But he was in his real element among men. He would stand in the midst of an adoring throng and entertain them with a western story or with his flashing wit, or he would stand on the rostrum in the presence of thousands and hold their unbroken attention for hours with his melodious eloquence. He was hale and winning, cordial

⁴² This was before the Dred Scott decision was rendered.

⁴³ Forney’s “Anecdotes,” Vol. I, p. 147.

and full of good cheer. Forgiving and generous, he never sought revenge on an enemy. In 1847 Douglas was promoted to the Senate, and in a few years he was an acknowledged leader and the readiest debater on its floor. His wonderful power over men was shown by his putting the Kansas-Nebraska bill through Congress in the face of the mighty hurricane of criticism that was rising against him; and he showed power in regaining his lost laurels in the North. His sway in the West was undisputed until the rise of a rival who was soon to outstrip him.

The Republicans of Illinois were unwilling to follow the advice of the eastern leaders and help reelect Douglas to the Senate. Douglas had been their political foe from far back in old Whig days, and they could not be persuaded to make him their champion. They produced their own candidate for the Senate in the person of Abraham Lincoln.

Lincoln was a still more striking figure than Douglas. Born in the slave state of Kentucky, among the lowliest of the lowly, his early life was spent in poverty and want. His mother was a woman of excellent good sense, and, it is claimed, of strong intellect. His father, who belonged to the class of poor whites, was a carpenter by trade, but was usually out of employment. He was shiftless, lazy, and ignorant, and he scarcely provided his family with the necessities of life. All rules and theories of heredity are scattered to the winds in attempting to account for the genius of Lincoln. While he was yet a child his mother died. The father moved with his family to southern Indiana and married a widow with several children, and the double family spent ten years in a miserable hut in the wilderness. Meantime Lincoln, being intensely anxious to educate himself, though he attended school only a few months during

his boyhood, studied diligently the few books that came within his reach. He became a deep student of the Bible and of Shakespeare, and he mastered the books of Euclid. Removing to Illinois at the age of twenty-one, he became in turn farmer, rail splitter, storekeeper, postmaster, surveyor, and river boatman, and he served a few months in the Black Hawk War in 1832, though he was not under fire.

Lincoln felt that he was destined to do something in the great world of which he yet knew so little. He was unsettled and discontented; he flitted from one thing to another. The years passed, and at the age of twenty-five he had not settled in a permanent vocation. He loved to mingle with men; he was exceedingly popular among his fellows, was full of droll stories, loved the horse race and the cockfight; but withal, his face was set with a melancholy that nothing could remove. This may have been caused in part by his long years spent in physical toil in the frowning forest, while his soul was longing for light, for knowledge, for opportunity.⁴⁴ His marriage was an unhappy one, and the want of domestic pleasure threw him the more among men, and fitted him the better for his great life work. He served in the Illinois legislature, read law, and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-eight. In 1846 he was elected to Congress, and after serving one term in the House, in which he always cast his vote with the Whigs or the Wilmot Democrats, he returned to his law practice at Springfield. He had almost lost interest in politics, as he said, until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Law. This roused him as nothing had done before, and within a few years he was the acknowledged leader of his party in Illinois. Few outside of his state knew the latent power of Lincoln,

⁴⁴ See Burgess's "Civil War and the Constitution," Vol. I, p. 6.

but Douglas knew him well, and when he heard that Lincoln was to be his opponent in the senatorial race, he said: "I shall have my hands full. He is the strong man of his party—full of wit, facts, dates, and . . . the best stump speaker in the West; he is as honest as he is shrewd."⁴⁵

The principals who were about to engage in this intellectual duel had much in common. Each had been born in poverty in another state; each had made the broad-prairied West his permanent home, and had begun his career without money, friends, or influence. They had served together in the Illinois legislature, had eaten at the same table, had attended the same horse races, and had loved the same maiden. For many years they had been personal, but never political friends. Both were courteous, honest, fearless, jovial, and companionable. Both were sanguine and keenly ambitious to rise in public life, and each had the rare quality of winning a large circle of followers. But the contrast was still more notable.

Douglas was below the average stature of men; Lincoln was above it. Douglas was compactly built, graceful, and polished in manners; Lincoln was the opposite of all these. Douglas had a deep, musical voice, and could hold an audience unwearyed for hours; but his logic was faulty, and his conclusions often superficial. Lincoln's voice was high-pitched and rather unpleasant, but his form of speech was so terse, epigrammatic, and logical, that even his great opponent, with all his powers of casuistry, could not escape its force. Douglas had reached the zenith of his power, and for four years past had held his lofty position amid adverse political winds only by his marvelous courage and audacity;

⁴⁵ Forney, Vol. III, p. 179.

Lincoln was just emerging from obscurity, and was soon to become the leading American of his time.

These two giants were to stand together on the same platform in seven different Illinois towns and address the same audiences on the great questions of the day. And it is a curious fact that Lincoln then attracted national attention only because of his connection with the world-famous Douglas, while in our own day Douglas is remembered in history more for his connection with Lincoln than for any other event of his life.

The campaign opened in June, when the Republican convention nominated Lincoln at Springfield. The address to the delegates by their candidate was masterful; but it was radical. In it he used the famous expression, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other." No prominent Republican had advanced such radical doctrine before. Seward's famous "irrepressible conflict" was not uttered for some months after this. Lincoln's friends urged that he omit this part of the speech, but he declared that he would rather be defeated with that statement in his speech than win the election without it. He further stated in answer to the eastern Republicans who desired to see Douglas returned to the Senate: "They remind us that he is a great man and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. . . . How can he oppose the advance of slavery? He does not care anything about it. . . . Our cause must be intrusted to its own undoubted friends . . . who do care for the results. . . . Clearly he [Douglas] is not with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise ever to be."

Soon after the campaign had opened, Lincoln, through his managers, challenged Douglas to a joint stumping tour, a series of joint debates. It was a daring thing to do. Douglas was reputed to be the ablest orator in the nation. He had no rival in the United States Senate. He had measured arms with Seward, Chase, Corwin, and Sumner, and had surpassed them all. The eyes of the country were now turned toward the prairie state. The two rivals met in various towns.⁴⁶ The crowds, composed of both parties, were too great for the public halls, and they met in open groves. There was but one great, vital subject to be discussed,—slavery in the territories. The speakers were courteous to each other, but merciless in their political arguments. Lincoln's disadvantage, especially at first, was in the opposition of the leaders of his party; but Douglas's disadvantage was still greater in the opposition of the Buchanan administration, for after the Lecompton struggle he and the President had never become reconciled.

The chief feature of this remarkable debate was the questions publicly asked by each speaker of the other. Douglas began this, and by so doing he set a trap for himself from which it was impossible to escape. Lincoln's fatal question was this: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way . . . exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution?" The deep significance of this question is seen only by remembering that it involved the irreconcilable difference between the Democrats of the North and those of the South in their interpretation of the Kansas-Nebraska Law. This question placed Douglas in the most trying position in his life. He was an aspirant for the presidency; he knew that his audi-

⁴⁶ These debates began August 24 and ended October 15.

ence in these debates included the whole United States, and to answer this question on which his party was divided would, as he well knew, offend one section or the other; and yet to refuse to answer would be childish and cowardly. Six days elapsed between the propounding of this question and the next meeting, to be held at Freeport. Meantime Lincoln's friends begged him to withdraw it, as they claimed Douglas was sure to answer in accordance with the feeling at the North, and, if so, he would win the senatorship. "I am after larger game," answered Lincoln; "if Douglas answers as you say he will, he can never be President, and the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this."⁴⁷

Douglas answered in accordance with the northern view. This opinion became known as the "Freeport doctrine." It was discussed by all the leading newspapers of the United States. By many the author was scored without mercy, and most of all by Lincoln, who showed with unanswerable logic how inconsistent with this view was the Dred Scott decision, which Douglas professed to accept as sound Democratic doctrine.

Douglas won the senatorship, though Lincoln had a majority of the popular vote. The result was due to the fact that of the twelve hold-over senators, eight were Democrats.

Douglas was the apparent winner in this great contest, though in the light of subsequent events the world must render a different verdict. This campaign proved a turning point in the fortunes of both contestants, but, like Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker, their fortunes moved in opposite directions. Lincoln soon became the foremost man of his age. Douglas never again stood on the pinnacle he

⁴⁷ The truth of this incident has been questioned by some writers; but it is given by Hernden, Lincoln's law partner, and is probably true.

had occupied before. His Freeport doctrine had mortally offended the South. His Lecompton revolt was a venial offense compared with this;⁴⁸ and two years later the South refused to accept him as their candidate, the Democratic party was severed in twain, and the Republicans carried the election.

JOHN BROWN AND HARPERS FERRY

On the morning of October 17, 1859, the country was startled by the news flashed over the wires that the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, had been seized the night before by a band of Abolitionists and negroes, and that the slaves of Virginia were rising against their masters. In the North the news created intense excitement; in the South it created rage and terror, for in that section the belief quickly took possession of the public mind that a great northern conspiracy had been set afoot with the object of exciting slave insurrections throughout the South. There is little wonder that such a belief awakened intense feeling at the South, for a widespread slave uprising would have been a calamity of the most awful consequences; it would have subjected the women and children to nameless horrors and would have destroyed the very foundations of society.

But the report proved exaggerated. The arsenal at Harpers Ferry, an insignificant village at the point where the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers join their waters and break through their mountain barriers, had been seized. But there was no uprising of slaves, nor was the number of men engaged in the insurrection by any means so great as was at first reported. In fact, there were but nineteen, and these, led by an elderly man with a long flowing white beard and

⁴⁸ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. II, p. 163.

with a strange, unfathomable eye, had stealthily entered the town by night, extinguished the lights, cut the telegraph wires, made prisoners of the guards, and taken possession of the armory. Soon after daybreak the people of the neighborhood began to rise against the invaders, and a desultory fire was kept up during the forenoon, a few being killed on either side. Soon after noon a hundred militia arrived from Charlestown, and others poured in rapidly. Thousands of shots were exchanged during the day. In the evening Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived with a body of marines, but he made no attack until the following morning. He then sent his aid, J. E. B. Stuart, who had been in Kansas, and who was to become the famous Confederate cavalry leader, to demand a surrender. Stuart, on seeing the aged leader, exclaimed, "Why, aren't you old Pottawatomie Brown of Kansas?" ⁴⁹ And thus it first became known to the public that the leader of this extraordinary movement was John Brown.

John Brown was a descendant of one of the Pilgrims who had come in the *Mayflower* in 1620. During the War of 1812 his father had been engaged in furnishing cattle for the American armies. John usually accompanied him as a cattle driver, and in this capacity he witnessed the surrender of Hull at Detroit. It was about this time that he became a rabid abolitionist. He was staying, for a time, with a slaveholder who owned a negro boy about Brown's age and apparently his equal in every way, and while he, Brown, was treated with the utmost kindness, the black boy was beaten and maltreated for little or no cause. This incident fixed in the youthful soul of John Brown a hatred of slavery that increased in intensity to the end of his life.

⁴⁹ See *Century Magazine*, June, 1885.

Many years later, when the father of a growing family, he, in imitation of the ancient Carthaginian commander, had his sons take a solemn oath that they would join with him in devoting their lives to making relentless war on slavery.

The stormy career of John Brown in Kansas we have noticed. This he closed by making a wild raid, with a few followers, into Missouri, and capturing a dozen slaves, whom he escorted to Canada. In the spring of 1859 we find him again in New England plotting his last and most famous exploit. His intention was to lead a band of men into the Virginia mountains, to call upon the slaves to flock to his retreat, to arm them against recapture, and to extend his operations over the entire South. In short, his plan was to lead the slaves to freedom through a general, violent uprising.

Late in the summer of 1859 Brown rented a house a few miles from Harpers Ferry, where, under the name of I. Smith and Sons, he received boxes of arms and ammunition. Everything was done with great secrecy. No one suspected that this gray-haired stranger and his numerous sons had other designs than to purchase a farm, as they pretended, and to become stock raisers. After some weeks of preparation they threw the whole country into a state of consternation, as we have seen, by their night attack on Harpers Ferry. Of Brown's followers, three were his own sons and five were colored men. Most of them did not know of his intention to seize the arsenal till near the time of making the raid. They then attempted to dissuade him, urging that the undertaking would be most dangerous. But his iron will was unmoved; he quietly answered, "If we lose our lives, it will perhaps do more for the cause than our lives

could be worth in any other way.”⁵⁰ He ordered his men not to take life, if they could possibly avoid it, and not a shot was fired until they had been in possession of the arsenal for three hours.

At any time during the forenoon of the 17th Brown might have escaped to the mountains, as he had intended to do after supplying his party at the arsenal with a stock of arms for his expected recruits; but this he failed to do until it was too late. Six of his men, including one of his sons, were out scouring the country for slaves, and these for the time escaped.⁵¹ His other two sons were killed. But few of the little band remained alive when at length the besiegers broke into the engine-house and took them captive. Brown himself was severely wounded by a bayonet thrust.

Brown’s composure throughout the siege was a matter of astonishment to those who witnessed it. With one son dead at his side and another mortally wounded, he felt the pulse of his dying son with one hand and held his rifle in the other while he commanded his men with the utmost composure.⁵² Brown was duly arraigned for treason and murder, was given a fair trial in the Virginia court at Charlestown, and was sentenced to be hanged. He spent the period between the time of receiving his sentence and the execution in the utmost serenity of mind, never exhibiting the slightest fear or regret except for the loss of life that he had occasioned. To a friend he wrote, “It is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause”; to his

⁵⁰ Sanborn’s “Life and Letters of John Brown,” p. 542.

⁵¹ Most of these were captured and put to death; but Owen Brown, son of the leader, was never taken, and he lived for many years afterward in New York.

⁵² Sanborn, p. 572.

wife, "My mind is very tranquil, I may say joyous;" to his children, "I feel just as content to die for God's eternal truth on the scaffold as any other way." On the day of execution he walked out of the jail "with a radiant countenance and the step of a conqueror," said an eyewitness. He mounted a wagon and sat upon his coffin to the place of execution, and without a tremor or a sign of fear he stepped upon the gallows and was swung into eternity. Governor Wise, fearing an attempt to rescue Brown, had called out several thousand troops and had planted cannon around the place of execution; but no such attempt was made, and Virginia, which had been wrought into a high state of excitement, breathed freer when old John Brown was dead.

It is even at this day too early to make a final historic estimate of John Brown. Throughout the South he was denounced as the blackest of villains, while many at the North pronounced him a saint and a martyr. Emerson was led to say that Brown's death made the gallows glorious like the cross. Victor Hugo pronounced Brown an apostle and a hero. The general sentiment at the North, however, condemned the deed of Brown, while the greatest sympathy with the doer was expressed on every side. Brown was a man of intense religious convictions; but he drew his inspirations from the Old Testament rather than from the New; his models were Joshua, Gideon, and Jephthah.⁶³ He brooded over the condition of the black man until his judgment became warped and distorted. He was utterly impractical. No man with robust common sense, with well-balanced mental powers, would have regarded his attack on the United States arsenal as other than suicidal folly. And yet we must pity rather than blame John Brown. By the

⁶³ Rhodes, Vol. II, p. 161.

technical letter of the law he was a criminal; by the motives and intents of his heart he was not. His supreme self-command, his heroic courage, his readiness to sacrifice his home, his family, his life, for a cause, must elicit our admiration. But we cannot place him among the saints, or the great heroes of history; he was an honest, but sadly misguided fanatic; on this one subject he was probably insane.

No great political effect of Brown's raid was felt. Congress met soon after the execution, and great efforts were made to saddle the whole affair on the Republican party. It was found that Brown had been furnished with money by a few northern friends headed by Gerrit Smith, the wealthy New York philanthropist; but the most searching inquiry by a Senate committee failed to prove that the great Republican leaders, Seward, Greeley, Lincoln, and Chase, had anything whatever to do with Brown's movements, or any knowledge of the raid till after it had been made. Brown's raid, however, had some effect in consolidating the South against the North.⁵⁴ A son of Governor Wise has recently written that the attitude of the North surprised the South and did more to open its eyes to the gulf between the sections than anything else. The great majority of southern voters were non-slaveholding poor whites. Vast numbers of these would probably have cast their lot for the Union in 1861, but for their fear of a slave insurrection. The southern leaders rung many changes on the Brown raid to show that such an insurrection was possible and that the North was capable of encouraging it. This doubtless had much to do with unifying the South under the banner of the slave-holders at the outbreak of the war.

⁵⁴ See Burgess's "Civil War and the Constitution," Vol. I, p. 43.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

Scarcely had the country recovered from the excitement of John Brown's raid, when it was called to face another presidential election—the most momentous of all since the overthrow of the Federalists in 1800. Great changes in the political world had been going on for several years. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Dred Scott decision, and the troubles in Kansas had shaken Democratic power to its foundations. The Republican party was irresistibly fastening its hold upon the North. Thousands of Democrats who had adhered to the party of their fathers with all its faults could now endure it no longer, after the ignoble attempt of their President to force the Lecompton fraud upon Kansas; and they were warmly welcomed into the Republican fold. Nevertheless, the Democrats would doubtless have again elected their President but for the fatal split within their own ranks. Early in February, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions which were intended to set forth the Democratic doctrine of the South, and which were meant as an ultimatum to the northern wing of the party. In these he set forth the extreme doctrine of Calhoun that the states were sovereign, that the general government was subordinate, and that neither Congress nor the territorial legislatures had the power to prohibit, but the government must protect, slavery in the territories. These resolutions were debated for many weeks, but ere they came to a vote the Democratic party had met in national convention at Charleston, South Carolina.

The Charleston convention was inharmonious. The spirit of discord that had so long distracted the country now threatened the one last great bond between the North and the South—the Democratic party. Many looked with awe

upon the gathering storm, when they realized what its meaning might be to the Federal Union. For long years the North and the South had been growing farther and farther apart. The Whig party had destroyed itself in attempting to cater to both sections; the religious bonds, the industrial and social bonds between them had for the most part been severed. Nothing was left to hold the North and the South together peacefully except this great political party whose representatives were now gathering at Charleston; and this bond was about to be broken.

Douglas was again the Democratic idol of the North. But he had re-won his northern laurels only by sacrificing his popularity in the South; and while he was now the first and only choice of the northern wing of the party, the South refused to accept him. But it was the platform, and not the candidate, on which the convention divided. The committee that framed the platform was composed of one delegate from each state. There were eighteen free states and fifteen slave states; but as the delegates of two free states, California and Oregon, voted steadily with the South, that section had a majority in the committee. The committee, therefore, adopted a platform, based on the Davis resolutions in the Senate, embodying the extreme southern doctrine on the subject of slavery in the territories; namely, that no power could exclude it, that Congress must protect it. The northern delegates could not accept this doctrine without sacrificing the vote of every northern state in the election. In vain they pleaded with their southern brethren to yield and save the party from disruption; the southern delegates were inflexible. Douglas meantime declared that he would refuse to be a candidate on such a platform. But the convention was not obliged to accept this platform dictated by the

committee. The South had a majority in the committee, but not in the convention; and now, for the first time in the history of Democratic national conventions, the northern delegates made a determined stand, refused the dictation of the South, cast aside its proffered platform, and adopted another, brought in by a minority of the committee. By this platform as adopted the status of slavery in the territories was to be determined by the courts.

The next act in the great drama immediately followed. The Alabama delegates rose and seceded from the convention, and they were followed by those from Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida, and Arkansas. The remainder of the convention then began balloting for a candidate, and after fifty-seven fruitless ballots the convention adjourned to meet on June 18 at Baltimore, while the seceding faction decided to meet at Richmond, Virginia.

The adjourned convention met at the appointed time and place. Every reason now existed for a reunion of the factions. The Republicans had met in the meantime, and had placed their candidates in the field; and every index pointed to a Republican victory unless the Democrats would unite. But this was impossible. The North could not, and the South would not, yield. Had the North yielded the point at issue, the Democratic party north of Mason and Dixon's line would have been destroyed. The northern delegates held their ground, and in consequence most of the delegates from the South who had not withdrawn at Charleston now did so, and they met in another hall. The convention then nominated Douglas for President and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for Vice President. The seceding faction, joined by their brethren from Richmond, nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for President and



1821—JOHN CABELL BRECKENRIDGE—1875.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

Joseph Lane of Oregon for Vice President, and the severance of the Democratic party was complete. Thus the great political party that had been founded by Jefferson, that had governed the country for half a century, had successfully carried on two foreign wars, and had acquired Florida and every foot of our public domain beyond the Mississippi,—this great party had at last quarreled with itself and invited its own destruction.

The Republican convention met in the fast growing city of Chicago on the 16th of May. The convention was rendered an object of intense interest by the fatal disagreement at Charleston; for the belief was widespread that here would be named the next President of the United States. The great "wigwam," seating twelve thousand people, was built for the purpose, but this could accommodate only a fraction of the gathering clans that poured into the city from all points of the compass. The convention gave little evidence of being the exponent of a new-born party founded on a great moral principle; it was less orderly and seemed much less serious than the one that had met at Charleston. The streets of the city were filled with noisy multitudes shouting for this or that candidate. No longer did the leaders of the party hold aloof, as four years before at Philadelphia, when they willingly let the prize go to a romantic adventurer of the West. Now the best men of the party stood ready and eager to receive the honors of the convention.

The acknowledged leader of the party was William H. Seward of New York. His claims were strong. He was the chief originator of Republican doctrine, and for years before the party was born he had stood in the forefront in battling against the encroachments of the slave power.

But he had weak points. He was thought to be too radical by many; he was the author of the "higher law" doctrine, and this, with his "irrepressible conflict," was not popular in the great conservative states that bordered on slave land. Another element of weakness in Seward was the fact that when governor of New York he had offended the Know-nothings on the school question. These had now for the most part become Republicans and were willing to accept any candidate except Seward.

Next to Seward in the great contest stood Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Lincoln was past fifty years of age, but, until his famous debate with Douglas two years before, he was scarcely known to the great public. The prominence of Douglas had led the people to look upon his daring antagonist, and the vital question at issue had led them to read his speeches. These were found to equal the proudest efforts of Sumner, of Chase, or of Seward. Again, Lincoln had recalled public attention to himself by a powerful speech at Cooper Union in New York City, by which he displayed anew his masterly grasp of the great questions of the day. None could now deny that in the political sky he was a star of the first magnitude.

Below these two leaders stood Edward Bates of Missouri, whose chief claim lay in the fact that he was from a slave state and that his nomination would in part answer the charge that the party was a sectional one; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio; and Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania. But none of these had any chance of receiving the nomination unless the convention failed to choose between the two leading candidates, Seward and Lincoln. The Seward men felt confident; but the Lincoln shouters made the greater noise. It was said that two men, whose voices could be heard

above the most violent storm (and one of them was a Democrat), were hired to lead in the shouting for the Illinois candidate.

On the first ballot Seward led, with Lincoln second. On the third ballot Lincoln was nominated. The cheers for the "rail splitter" were tremendous. So great was the uproar of the convention that the boom of cannon on the top of the wigwam could scarcely be heard within it. Chicago was delirious with delight; but the Seward men were deeply dejected, and their leader, Thurlow Weed, burst into tears. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was nominated for Vice President, and the work of the convention was over.

Outside of Illinois and a few adjacent states the name of Lincoln created little enthusiasm. Why set aside the great New York statesman for this untried newcomer in public life? At first a feeling of depression swept over the party. It was feared that the convention had made a mistake, as its predecessor had done at Philadelphia in 1856. But the convention had builded wiser than it knew.

The platform adopted by the convention pronounced for a protective tariff, condemned indirectly the John Brown raid and the Dred Scott decision, while it left unnoticed the Fugitive Slave Law, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. But it was very decided on the greatest question of the times—slavery in the territories. It pronounced slavery an evil, and while denying any intention of the party to interfere with it in the states where it existed, it denied the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individual to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, and demanded that Congress prohibit the institution in the territories.

Still another party entered the field in this great contest.

It was composed of the old line Whigs and others who could find no political resting place with the extremes represented by Lincoln and Breckenridge, nor on the middle ground occupied by Douglas. It called itself the Constitutional Union party, adopted the terse platform "The Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws," which, in the apt words of Horace Greeley, meant anything in general and nothing in particular, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice President. Thousands of citizens voted with this party simply because they could not decide which side they were on.

The campaign was less boisterous than many of its predecessors. Issues rather than men were discussed—or rather, one issue, the same that had been before the country for several years—slavery in the territories. Outside of Pennsylvania, where the tariff received a large share of attention, this great subject absorbed the public mind. The issue was squarely drawn between the Lincoln and Breckenridge extremes. The Republicans took the positive ground that, as slavery was a moral and political evil, it should be permitted to spread no farther, and that Congress should prohibit it in the territories. The Breckenridge Democrats took the equally positive ground that, as slaves are constitutional property, their possession in the territories must be protected by Congress. The Douglas Democrats took the middle ground that Congress must keep its hands off, and that the people of a territory must decide for themselves whether slavery should exist among them. If the Douglas party should win, the great subject would simply be left unsettled; if Lincoln or Breckenridge should carry the election, the issue would be squarely



1791—JAMES BUCHANAN—1868.

BY GEORGE PETER ALEXANDER HEALY, 1859.

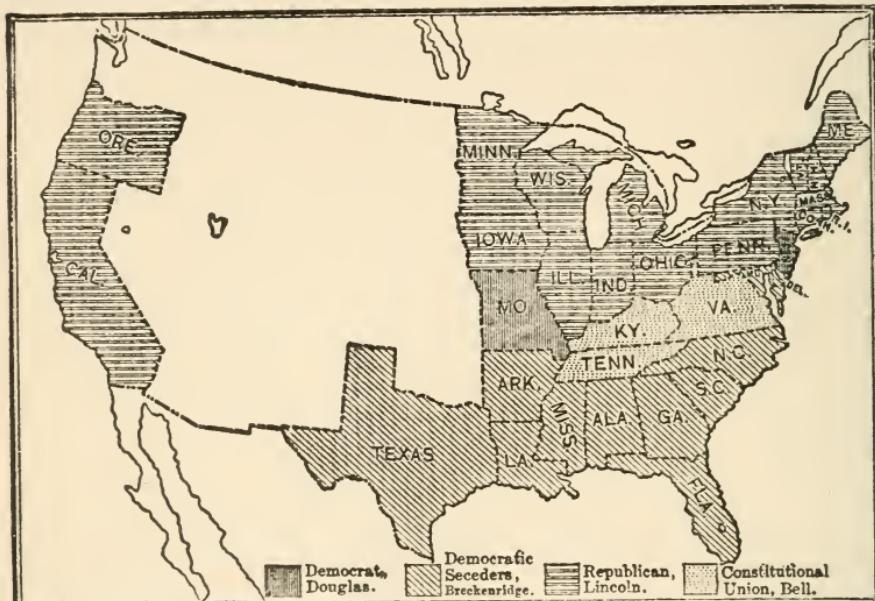
From the original portrait in the Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington, D.C.

joined and the defeated party must yield to the majority, or resist by violence. Threats of dissolving the Union, in case of Lincoln's election, were made freely in the South; but in the North it was not generally believed that such a step would be taken. Had the North fully realized the gravity of the situation, the election of Lincoln would have been doubtful; for the people, a great many of them, whatever their hatred of slavery, dreaded still more a dissolution of the Union or civil war. Douglas made a noble fight. He spoke in many states; but with all his tireless energy and eloquence, the tide against him was too great to be overcome. Nor could Breckinridge hope to carry a northern state, and, as all the southern electors were not enough to make a choice, his election was impossible. Bell could not dream of carrying more than a few states. This left Lincoln as the only candidate whose election was possible, and in case of his failure the election would go to the House. But the House was hopelessly divided, no party controlling a majority of the states.

The Republicans, however, felt confident. If the Democrats had united at any time during the summer or early autumn, with Douglas as their candidate, they might possibly have carried the election; but not after the October elections in a few of the Northern states. When Pennsylvania voted in October and was carried by the Lincoln party, electing Andrew Curtin governor by thirty-two thousand majority, the last hope of successful opposition was crushed. Nothing under heaven could now prevent the election of Lincoln. This fact almost pleased the extreme South. The slaveholders preferred the election of Lincoln to that of Douglas; for if Douglas were elected, the great question would remain unsettled; if Lincoln were successful,

the South would become united against the North and would have an adequate pretext for disunion.⁵⁵

The great battle of the ballots was fought on November 6. Lincoln received the votes of all the Northern states except New Jersey, and in that state he won four of the seven electors, the other three going to Douglas through a fusion arrangement. Lincoln's electoral vote reached 180, while 152 were sufficient to elect. Breckinridge received



seventy-two electoral votes, Bell captured three slave states, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, thirty-nine electors, while Douglas, whose popular vote was far greater than that of Breckinridge or Bell, received but twelve electoral votes—those of Missouri and three from New Jersey. The secessionists of the South were extremely chagrined at the fact that Bell, who stood on a distinctly union platform, had polled over half a million votes, almost as many as

⁵⁵ Greeley, Vol. I, p. 329.

Breckenridge. The want of southern unity might have proved very embarrassing to the disunionists the following year, but for the fact that Bell, and most of his followers, probably on the issue of coercing a state, cast their lot with them.

The meaning of the result of this great election was plain to the world. It meant that the voice of the people in all the Northern states pronounced slavery an evil and forbade its further spread in the United States. For many years a few thousand slaveholders had dominated the government, had dictated every presidential policy, had laid down the law for the millions. But at last the multitude had risen in its might and declared that this condition should endure no longer.

NOTES

The Black Warrior.—In the early spring of 1854 an incident known as the *Black Warrior* affair threatened the peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. The *Black Warrior* was a merchant steamer plying between New York and Mobile, usually stopping at Havana. On February 28 this vessel was seized and declared confiscated with its cargo by the Spanish authorities at Havana, on the pretense that she had violated the trade regulations of the port. Her captain abandoned the vessel and appealed to the United States government for protection. President Pierce and his Cabinet made a demand that Spain make proper reparation, and communicated with Soulé, our minister at Madrid, to that effect. But Soulé exceeded his instructions, offended the Spanish government, and received a haughty reply. Soulé and the slaveholders now hoped for a war with Spain, that the United States might acquire Cuba, but northern sentiment refused to support this project. The *Black Warrior* was at length released, and the war spirit subsided. This affair had something to do with bringing out the Ostend Manifesto a few months later. See p. 14.

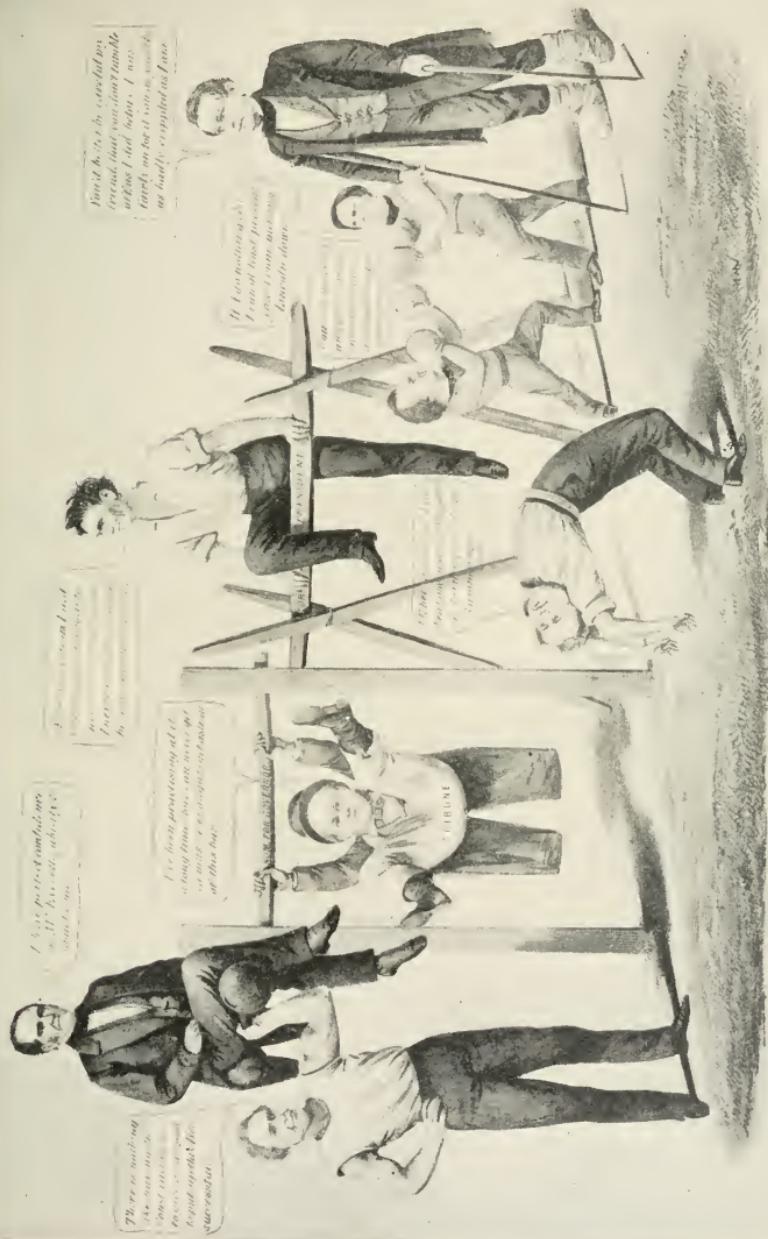
The Nicaragua Filibusters.—In 1854 William Walker of California proceeded with a band of reckless men to Nicaragua, and allied himself with one of the warring factions of that country. In a short time he had possession of the city of Granada and proclaimed himself

President of Nicaragua. Soon after he had succeeded in usurping the power, he issued a decree reëstablishing slavery in the country, where it had not existed for many years. This revealed the true object of his expedition—to secure Central America for slavery, and eventually to add those states to our Union in the interests of the slaveholders. After he had held the country for two years, a coalition against him drove him out. Twice afterward he made attempts to regain his hold on Nicaragua; but on the last of these trips he was overpowered, captured, tried by court martial, condemned, and shot to death.

THE POLITICAL GYMNASIUM.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CARICATURE, 1860.

From a lithograph in possession of Chief Justice Mitchell, Philadelphia, Pa.



CHAPTER XXIX

AN ANTE-BELLUM VIEW

AHURRIED view of the great people that were now about to engage in the bloodiest of all civil wars in the annals of history will here be appropriate. Soon after the second war with England the people of the United States began to feel a consciousness of national greatness and power as never before, and the marvelous development of the country in the half century that followed gave evidence that this national pride rested on a sound basis. Within that period the population was greatly increased;⁵⁶ the nation took its place among the greatest of manufacturing and commercial peoples; in literature, education, and invention it more than kept pace with the world's advancing civilization. A few of these developments may be described under separate heads, beginning with

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

No other country ever gave to the world in the same length of time such a series of useful inventions as did the United States in the thirty years ending with 1860. First among them in importance is perhaps the electric telegraph, the patent for which was granted to Samuel F. B. Morse in 1837, though twenty years passed before it came into very general use. In 1858 the first Atlantic cable was laid

⁵⁶ For population at each census see chronology in Vol. I.

through the efforts of Cyrus W. Field. It reached from Newfoundland to Ireland, a distance of seventeen hundred miles; but after it had been in operation for three weeks, several hundred messages having been exchanged, the cable parted, and eight years passed before another was successfully laid. To show how this wonderful invention has made the world akin, a comparative illustration is useful: I have before me a New York newspaper dated August 4, 1815. Its chief foreign news item is an account of the great battle between the French and the allied powers at Waterloo in which Napoleon was overthrown. This was the first news to reach America of that famous battle, which had been fought on the eighteenth of June, nearly seven weeks before, and several weeks were yet to pass before it could reach the interior of the country. How great the contrast with the following: The Coronation of King Edward VII of England took place on August 9, 1902, at noon, and some hours before noon on the same day the account of the event was read on the streets of the American cities. Hand in hand with the telegraph came the cylinder press, first operated in 1847, by which, with all its improvements to this day, the news received from the wires and put in type, is printed and folded in newspaper form at the rate of forty-eight thousand an hour.

Among labor-saving machines the mower and reaper, patented by Cyrus McCormick in 1831, and the sewing machine, invented by Elias Howe in 1846, must be placed in the first rank. The reaper which enabled one man to do the work of many, made possible the great wheat farms of the West and cheapened breadstuffs throughout the world. Before the invention of the sewing machine woman was a slave to the needle; but with the coming of that exceedingly

useful machine woman was set free in a great measure and enabled to read, travel, and become interested in public questions.⁵⁷ This invention also reduced the price of clothing and shoes for all classes.

Among the other discoveries and inventions of this period was the discovery of ether, or rather of its application as an anaesthetic,⁵⁸ which has proved one of the greatest boons to suffering humanity. By its use the patient sleeps like a child while undergoing a surgical operation. Another discovery of a very different nature was made in western Pennsylvania in 1859. A company of men, boring into the earth some seventy feet, "struck oil," which flowed at the rate of a thousand barrels a day. The news awakened the greatest enthusiasm, and through this and similar discoveries in other parts of the country and in Canada the petroleum business has become one of the greatest industries of the world. Another remarkable discovery dates from this same year, 1859. Some miners were digging along the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, in what is now the state of Nevada, when they discovered a silver mine. It was soon found that not only that region, but also various other parts of Colorado, Utah, and Arizona were rich in silver ore, and the mining of silver soon became one of the great industries of the West.

The inventions resulting in the steam railway belong to an earlier period; but the development of the railway belongs chiefly to the period we are treating. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did the extension of railroads really have a beginning in the United States. In 1850 one could travel by rail between the chief cities of the

⁵⁷ See Thorpe's "History of the American People," p. 429.

⁵⁸ By Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Boston.

East, but the rising West as yet had few railroad advantages. Before 1860, however, several great trunk lines extended from the eastern seaboard to the valley of the Mississippi, the increase in mileage within the ten years being five-fold—from six thousand to thirty thousand miles. But railways had reached no such degree of perfection as in our own day, and accidents with fatal results were very common. The same was true in a still greater degree of steamboats. The loss of life from these two sources was so great as to raise a loud protest from the people and the press. Congress passed a law in 1852 (still on our statute books) to regulate steamboat travel. It provided for the careful inspection of steamers, for small boats and life-preservers to be carried on each, and made the owners responsible for accidents arising from a neglect of the provisions of this law.

In the cities great changes had taken place since the first quarter of the century had closed. The principal streets were now paved with stone and lighted with gas. Fire engines took the place of the old hand bucket about the middle of the century. Omnibuses and horse-car lines were introduced back in the thirties; and waterworks, one of the greatest of city improvements, came into general use at about the same time. The attractions of city life had its effect on the population; the percentage of the people who lived in the cities was now far greater than it had been in earlier times.

The material prosperity of the country during the decade ending with the panic of 1857 was amazing. Manufactories were multiplied on every hand, and our commerce whitened every sea. Webster wrote in 1850 that "our foreign commerce was hardly exceeded by the oldest and

CHARLESTON

MERCURY

EXTRA:

*Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December
20th, 1860.*

AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

TITLE

UNION

IS

DISSOLVED!

From an original broadside in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

most commercial nations." The *New York Herald* stated in 1853 that in "both sailing and steam vessels we have surpassed the whole world." James Buchanan declared in 1854 that "our mercantile marine is the largest in the world."⁵⁹ It is greatly to be regretted that all this was changed by the shock of civil war, and that, owing to our narrow navigation laws, we have never regained our prestige on the sea.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

All the states had established free-school systems by 1860. In the Western states a certain portion of the public lands was set apart for school purposes, and as this grew in value the education fund was greatly swelled. The rural schools were usually ungraded, as many of them are to this day, but the rudiments of an education were within reach of all classes. It has been noted by foreigners that no armies ever before went forth to battle composed of men so universally intelligent as those of the Civil War.⁶⁰ The colleges were also growing and multiplying, but their efficiency by no means approached that of the present day.

The religious growth of the country had been quite equal to its material growth. The intolerant spirit and bigotry of the early colonial days had almost wholly disappeared, and the great church bodies worked in friendly rivalry; but religion had not lost its hold on the masses. The part played by the various churches in reform movements, in education, and in fostering our modern civilization is incalculable. Before 1860 the leading Protestant bodies—

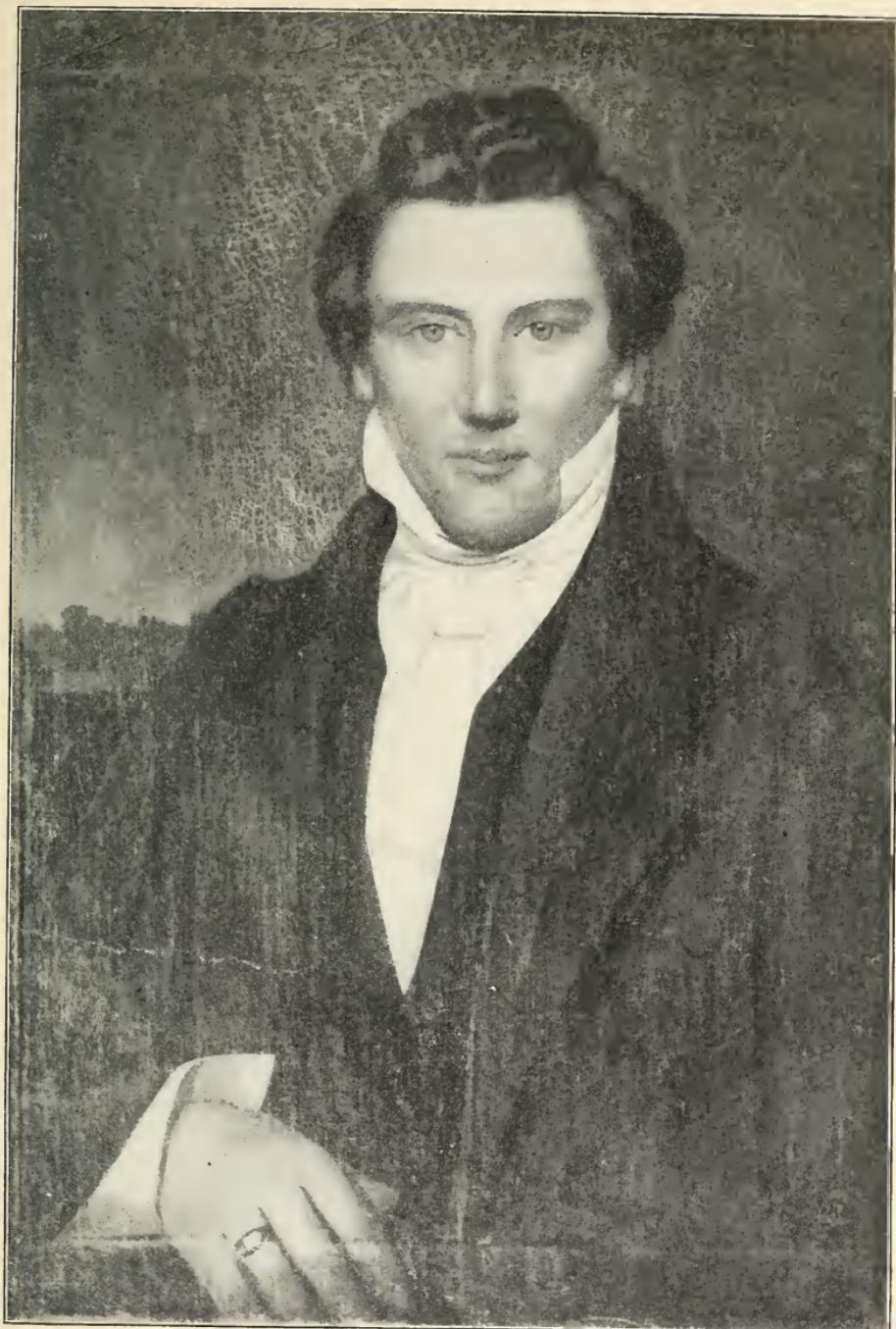
⁵⁹ See Rhodes, Vol. III, p. 8.

⁶⁰ See Goldwin Smith's "United States."

Baptist, Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Methodist, Reformed, and Presbyterian—had become powerful organizations, each was vigorously engaged planting missions and building churches in the new settlements, in founding schools and colleges in the older states; and each had begun to send missionaries into foreign fields. The Roman Catholics had also made commendable progress. Many of the foreign immigrants were of this faith, and the Church put forth great efforts to supply for them schools and churches in the various parts of the country where they settled.

One of the strangest of American religious phenomena is the rise of the Mormons. As early as 1820 Joseph Smith of New York, a native of Vermont, began to have visions and to dream dreams. In 1827 he professed to have found some golden tablets, revealed to him by an angel, the inscriptions of which he published in 1830 as a new revelation from heaven. He called it "The Book of Mormon," or "The Golden Bible." This book had been copied, as the weight of evidence clearly indicates, from a manuscript in a Pittsburg printing office by an employee of the office named Rigdon, who was now in league with Smith. It had been written by Solomon Spalding of Conneaut, Ohio, and was a fanciful history of the ancient inhabitants of America, who were said to be descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel.⁶¹ On the publication of "The Book of Mormon," Smith had his "Three Witnesses," who solemnly declared that an angel had revealed to them also that the new religion now preached by Smith was the true and only religion; but these men afterward quarreled with Smith and declared that their testimony was false and the whole scheme a fraud.

⁶¹ See Linn's "Story of the Mormons," Chap. VII.



1805—JOSEPH SMITH—1844.

BY WILLIAM MAJOR, 1844.

From the original portrait in possession of Joseph Smith, Lamoni, Ia.

But Smith continued to preach his new religion, and soon had a few converts. He professed to receive new revelations from time to time. In one of these he was directed to move with his followers to Kirtland, Ohio, which he did. Here they remained for some years, when they removed to Independence, Missouri; but so undesirable were they that the other residents drove them from the state, and they settled in Illinois and built the city of Nauvoo. The converts now numbered several thousand, and Smith was autocrat. In 1843 Smith declared that he had received a new revelation making it lawful for a man to have more than one wife. This was the origin of polygamy among the Mormons, or "Latter-day Saints."

The people of Illinois soon grew tired of the Mormons. Smith came into conflict with the authorities and was lodged in jail, where, in 1844, he was set upon by a mob and shot to death. Brigham Young, one of the "twelve apostles," now became the leader, and in 1847 the whole body of Mormons moved across the western plains to Great Salt Lake and built Salt Lake City. They called the place Deseret, but the United States government organized it into a territory under the name of Utah. In 1857 the Mormons rebelled against the United States authority. Troops were sent to Utah, and they soon put down all opposition, after which a "Gentile" governor was appointed to succeed Brigham Young, who had been governor. The Mormons have made many converts among certain classes, and their Church has shown an unexpected growth in the Rocky Mountain region. The whole number of Mormons in the world at this time is estimated at about three hundred thousand, probably ninety-five per cent of whom are in the United States.

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

In 1860 there were thirty-three states in the Union, and the population was 31,443,321, an increase during the preceding ten years of nearly nine millions. Eighteen were free and fifteen were slave states. The population of the free states was a little over nineteen millions and the slave states above twelve millions. About one fourth of the southern population (3,954,000) was African slaves; and this left the white population of the South at something over eight millions—less than one half that of the North.

During the decade a steady stream of emigrants from the eastern states had poured into the Mississippi Valley. The gain in the state of Illinois alone reached almost nine hundred thousand in ten years. In all the states along the upper course of the great river there was a rapid increase of population; the prairies were cut up into farms, and the forests were hewn down to make way for civilization. The Pacific Coast was filling rapidly, more than three hundred thousand people having settled in California within the ten years between 1850 and 1860, while some fifty thousand found a home in Oregon and Washington. Between the Pacific Coast and the Mississippi Valley lay a vast mountain region nearly a thousand miles wide and extending from the sunny lands of Mexico to the snows of British Columbia. This region was unpeopled except by Indian tribes, the Mormons of Utah, and here and there a mining camp or a trading post, and it was generally believed to be uninhabitable by civilized man. But in the years following the war the population began to press up the mountains from either side, and it has been discovered that this great mountain region is not only exceedingly rich in precious metals, but that it has also, through irrigation, great agricultural resources.

In the East the changes were less marked. In some of the great states of the East, such as New York and Pennsylvania, the multiplying industries, notably mining and manufacturing, and the growing cities, held the population and attracted many foreign immigrants; but in most of the older states the increase was slow, owing chiefly to the movement of the people westward. In the Southern states the growth of population was far less marked than in the North and West. In no slave state, except Missouri and Texas, was the increase much over one fourth as great as that of New York, or one third that of Pennsylvania. This wide difference was due wholly to the institution of slavery, which repelled the free home seeker who must earn his living by his own toil.

Foreign immigration continued in an ever increasing stream, which was still more increased by the discovery of gold in California and by the revolutionary movements in Europe during and after the year 1848. The immigrants, in the order of numbers, were Irish, Germans, English, French, and Canadians. The Irish settled mostly in the eastern cities and became a strong factor in the industrial life of these centers. The Germans and English became for the most part farmers in northern New York, Pennsylvania, and the states lying farther west, and their descendants still constitute one of the stanchest elements of our agricultural strength. Many of the Canadians also became farmers, but a larger number were engaged in the great northern pine forests as lumbermen.⁶²

It is notable that the foreign immigrants settled in the North and West, and almost none of them went to the South. The natural advantages of the South are quite

⁶² See Thorpe's "History of the American People," p. 426.

equal to those of the North, but home seekers found little to attract them where slave labor was supreme and where their social standing would not be above that of the poor whites. Furthermore, the slaveholders did not encourage free men to settle among them, for they well knew that every increment to the free labor in their section would tend to weaken the institution of slavery.



1812—ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS—1883.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER XXX

DRIFTING TOWARD HOSTILITIES

CAUSES AND PRELIMINARIES

MANY causes have been given by various writers as bringing about the Civil War; but after all there was only one cause—slavery. Let us go back for a hurried glance at the great events of forty years that pointed toward war. It is true that there were muttered rumblings, arising from the slave question, since the founding of the government, but there was no general aligning of the North and the South on opposite sides until the great agitation of 1820 that resulted in the Missouri Compromise. This compromise, though it doubtless aided in keeping slavery out of the Northwest, was an immediate victory for the South.

Then came the Texas question. The South longed for Texas. The North objected, but only feebly, and Texas came in as a slave state. Hard on this came the Mexican War. Its object we have noticed in a former chapter—more slave territory. Another victory for the slaveholder? Not exactly; for it happened that the people and not the politicians had it to decide whether California should be a slave or a free state, and they decided for freedom. Next followed the Compromise of 1850, and this was a victory for the South; for the one feature objectionable to the slaveholder—the admission of free California—had already been

decided by the people and was therefore not a part of the compromise, and the other feature to attract the chief attention—the Fugitive Slave Law—was forced by the slaveholder upon the North.

Four years then passed, when the slaveholder scored his greatest victory thus far in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise. By this he received back what he had paid for Missouri. This might have troubled his conscience a little—for he still kept Missouri—until the highest tribunal in the land decided, through the Dred Scott case, that the slaveholder had been too good to his opponents in granting the Missouri Compromise line, that he had exceeded his powers, like a son bartering away an entailed estate, which he had no power to sell—in other words, that the bargain had been null and void all along. This was hardly fair to the North, for the slaveholder had eaten his cake,—he had settled Missouri with slaves,—and yet he took back the price he had paid for the privilege.

This ended the victories of the slaveholder. He made one more terrific struggle—for Kansas—but he lost. Why? Because, as in California, the people had the matter to settle. It is a very notable fact that in all these minor struggles antedating the war the South won in each case, except in those of California and Kansas; and in these two only had the people an opportunity to decide. All the others were decided by the ruling class, so-called.

From these facts we reach the twofold conclusion: first, that the slaveholder dominated the government for many years before the war; second, that the people in general were not in sympathy with him. If then the people, the source of all power, did not approve the slaveholder's rule, why did they not take matters into their own hands, as

they had the right and the power to do? ⁶³ It may be answered that they did this eventually. First they defeated the Democratic party for waging the Mexican War; then they slew the Whig party for the compromise measures. But such mild treatment was ineffective in dealing with such a powerful, audacious, determined oligarchy as the slave power of the South. Seeing that heroic measures were necessary, the people therefore founded a new political party, based it on the non-extension of slavery, and elected their President.⁶⁴ This was a notice that the extension of slavery must cease; and this the slaveholder could not endure—hence came the war.

The cause of the war was slavery, and slavery alone. Some say that the war arose from the different interpretations of the Constitution on the question of state sovereignty, miscalled state rights. But what caused this difference of interpretations? Slavery. State sovereignty was but a weapon, the most convenient and effective, with which the slaveholder battled for his favorite institution. Why should he wish to destroy the Union which his fathers had helped to form? Why should he be less loyal than the New England manufacturer, the Pennsylvania miner, or the Ohio farmer? It was not so at the beginning of the century; it is not so to-day, since the apple of discord has been removed. For sixty years no state or statesman had threat-

⁶³ One cause of the people's tardiness was their indifference. It required many years for the North to learn that the Union could not continue half slave and half free.

⁶⁴ It is true that fewer than half the people voted for Lincoln; many were too timid to vote their convictions, others could not break away from the historic party of their fathers; but it is certain that by 1860 a large majority of the people of the country opposed the further extension of slavery.

ened the Union through state rights *per se*. In every case, when so used, it was some grievance that led to the use of state rights as the handiest effective weapon.⁶⁵ When Jefferson abandoned his extreme state rights views for a stronger union, the status of that doctrine would have been settled except on account of other grievances for which it was made a mask. But for slavery state rights would have adjusted itself; and this it was doing, for it was less prominent in 1840 than at the beginning of the century. State rights in the abstract had nothing to do with bringing on the war.

Others say that secession caused the war. Very true; but what caused secession? Slavery. Still others will say that the election of Lincoln brought about secession and war. But why was Lincoln objectionable to the South, except on account of his views and the attitude of his party on slavery? The Kansas-Nebraska Law, the Dred Scott decision, the border strife in Kansas—each played its part in hastening the war, but they were all slavery questions. In short, all the various causes that converged to bring about the dreadful conflict may be summed up into one sweeping cause of causes—slavery.

In a remoter sense, however, climatic and economic con-

⁶⁵ New England had a quarrel with the government during the War of 1812, and appealed to state sovereignty; Pennsylvania had a similar experience in 1808, Ohio in 1820, South Carolina in 1832. As Alexander Johnson truly says: "*Almost every state in the Union in turn declared its own sovereignty, and denounced as almost treasonable, similar declarations in other cases by other states.*" But the doctrine was given up in other sections while it was retained in the South because of the peculiar institution. Thus at the South the generation preceding the war was thoroughly indoctrinated with state rights, and it was this that led such men as Robert E. Lee to side with the South. But this condition was brought about wholly by slavery.

ditions, which rendered slave labor remunerative at the South and not at the North, may be said to have caused the war; but these conditions would have brought no war without slavery. The Northern states emancipated soon after the Revolution, not that the people were more righteous than those of the South, for they were not, but because slavery had not taken such a hold on the North. Slavery in the one section and not in the other brought about a growing difference in social, economic, and political conditions, and the two sections drifted apart for many years. The statement that the causes of the war were "numerous and varied"⁶⁶ is misleading if unexplained, for every cause had its root in slavery. It is morally certain that there would have been no war but for slavery—unless it must be admitted that no people are capable of adjusting in right proportion the relations of the great opposing tendencies, Nationality and Democracy, without bloodshed.

The slaveholder was remarkably shrewd, but he made blunders. One was his forcing the Fugitive Slave Law upon the northern conscience. This led the northerner to see slavery in its ugliest form. The pleasant relations between the master and slave he did not see; he saw only the fleeing black man and heard his tale of woe; again, he saw the fugitive seized and dragged back to the land of bondage. Such scenes awakened in the people of the North a moral resentment against slavery as nothing else could have done.

The most serious blunder of the slaveholder was his forcing the war by an attempt to break up the Union. This was a daring leap, and it proved to be a fatal blunder. He had been protected by the Constitution and by his influence over the northern politicians; now he shattered the Con-

⁶⁶ Macy's "Political Parties," p. 117.

stitution and alienated his northern friends; he appealed his case from the lower court, the Constitution and the government, to the higher tribunal, the people. Had he not learned by the fate of California and Kansas, by the rough handling of the Whig party and of the Kansas-Nebraska Democrats, that the people were not with him? The slaveholder knew that the North was immeasurably stronger than the South; he certainly knew that in an exhausting war, a fight to the finish, between the Union and the slave power, both could not survive. Did he underestimate the Union sentiment, the love for the old flag at the North? Did he expect to be permitted to depart in peace? Or did he rely on foreign recognition and aid? The slaveholder was admirably brave and daring, but in some ways he miscalculated, and he made a fatal blunder in permitting his cause to be appealed to the sword.⁶⁷

SECESSION

The news that Abraham Lincoln had been elected to the presidency, though not unexpected, fell like a pall upon many parts of the South. Many of the radicals, it is true, professed to rejoice at the result; for now, they claimed, they had sufficient cause for secession; but with the great majority the feeling was one of awe and of evil forebodings. The threat to secede from the Union was as old as the century; it had been indulged in by many states North and South, and it usually awakened little fear. But in this case the South was in deep, deadly earnest. The ground on which the South based its right to secede was that the Union was a confederation of sovereign states, each

⁶⁷ The line of discussion in this section is similar to that of Chapter IV of my "Side Lights," Series II.

of which had the legal power to withdraw from the compact at pleasure. The pretext for secession at that time was, as shown by the "declaration of causes" issued by South Carolina, that thirteen of the northern states had passed "personal-liberty laws" in violation of the Constitution, that the antislavery agitation of the North had rendered property in slaves insecure, and that a man whose "opinions and purposes were hostile to slavery" had been elected President of the United States. It was also claimed that the South had been taxed by high tariff duties for the benefit of northern interests.

South Carolina took the first step toward dismembering the Union. Even before the election Governor Gist of that state sent a circular letter to the governors of the other cotton states inquiring if they were ready to take the decisive step in case of Lincoln's success. From most of them the answer was rather discouraging. North Carolina and Louisiana were unwilling; Alabama and Georgia hesitated; Florida alone gave a hearty affirmative response. But the impetuous South Carolina would wait for none of them. Her legislature met on November 5 to choose presidential electors, for in this state alone the electors were still chosen by the legislature, and not by the people. This was the opportunity. The legislature remained in session till the news of Lincoln's election had caused a whirlwind of disunion enthusiasm to sweep over the state. Now was the time to strike, for a few weeks of reflection might cool the ardor of the people. The legislature lost no time in calling for the election of a secession convention. This election was held on December 6, and the convention met on the 17th.

The short campaign was marked by the wildest enthu-

siasm. Without party divisions the best men of the state were chosen; five had been governors of the state, and many had served in Congress. By the time this convention met the people had been wrought up to fever heat. "The excitement of the people is great under the sense of deep wrongs," wrote the newly elected governor. There can be no doubt of their sincerity. They honestly believed that the continued agitation of the North against slavery threatened the peace and happiness of their homes, and would, if continued, render life unendurable at the South. For many years they had been taught to love their state above the Union, and now it was easy for them to decide on the one remedy for their wrongs, as they believed,—secession.

The demeanor of the delegates was grave. They seemed to feel a deep sense of their responsibility. Their "Declaration of Independence" was solemnly read to the assembly. The ordinance of secession repealed the act of 1788, by which the state had adopted the Constitution, and pronounced the union between South Carolina and the United States of America dissolved. The vote was unanimous, and the state thus "resumed her sovereign powers." Excited throngs had gathered outside the convention hall; the streets of Charleston were filled with an expectant multitude. When the word was passed to the waiting crowds that the ordinance of secession had been passed, they broke forth into uncontrollable cheers, the cannon boomed, the bells rang, and palmetto flags were waved in exultant joy throughout the city. The South Carolinians compared themselves with the heroes of 1776; they seemed never to doubt that a new nation was then and there born, and they rejoiced at being witnesses of the mighty event. The state then issued an address to the other slave states urging them



1808—JEFFERSON DAVIS—1889.

1867.

From an original negative by Anderson, Richmond, Va.

to leave the Union, and to join with her in forming a southern confederacy.

Within one month after the secession of South Carolina four other states had followed her example,— Mississippi on January 9, Florida on the 10th, Alabama on the 11th, and Georgia on the 19th. In each of these secession was accomplished through a convention elected for the purpose, but in none was the seceding ordinance submitted to a vote of the people. Had this been done, the ordinance would doubtless have passed in each state, but in each, except perhaps Mississippi and Florida, a strong minority vote would have been recorded against disunion and this would have disclosed a weakness of the movement which the leaders were unwilling to reveal.⁶⁸ In Georgia, the Empire State of the South, the feeling against secession was strong. Alexander H. Stephens, who led the faction opposed to disunion, declared that the state would have refused to take the step but for the cry, "We can make better terms out of the Union than in it." This was doubtless true, and it proves that Georgia meant to leave the Union only temporarily for the purpose of making terms with the North. Even then the convention recorded 89 votes against the ordinance in a vote of 297. Louisiana was the next to follow, on January 26, and Texas seceded on the 1st of February. The faithful old governor of Texas, Sam Houston, did all in his power to prevent secession, but the legislature usurped the power and called a convention. This state was the first of the seceding states to submit the ordinance of

⁶⁸ It must be remembered that the Federal Constitution had been adopted by the various states through conventions, and not by direct vote of the people. The South, therefore, is not open to criticism for following the precedent.

secession to a vote of the people. It was carried at a popular election, but there was a considerable vote recorded against it.

These seven seceding states comprised the great cotton belt of the South. On February 4 they joined their fortunes and formed the Southern Confederacy.⁶⁹ A joint convention met for this purpose at Montgomery, Alabama, adopted a temporary constitution, and chose a provisional President and Vice President.

This provisional Constitution was supplanted by a permanent one, adopted by Congress on March 11, 1861. Having been ratified by the states it went into effect in February, 1862. A brief comparison between this and the Federal Constitution is interesting. The Confederate Constitution was modeled closely after that of the United States, the term "Confederate States" being used instead of United States, and "Confederacy" for Union. In the preamble we find, "We, the people of the sovereign states," instead of "We, the people of the United States." In some points in which this Constitution differs from our own, the changes may be pronounced improvements, such as: The President was to be elected for six years and was not to be eligible for reëlection; he was empowered to veto items in an appropriation bill while approving the remainder of the bill; members of the Cabinet were to be entitled to a seat in either house of Congress for the discussion of matters pertaining to their respective departments. Other changes were: A protective tariff was made illegal; internal improvements were confined to aids to navigation, which were to be repaid by duties on the navigation so aided; the postal

⁶⁹ The Texas delegates had not yet arrived. They came soon afterward.

system was to be self-sustaining after March 1, 1863. True to the theory of state sovereignty, a state legislature by a two-thirds vote could impeach a national official acting within the state. A slaveholder was permitted to travel in any state with his slaves.

Provision was made for the admission of new states; but it is notable that no provision was made for secession from the Confederacy. The most striking feature of this Constitution was that it forbade the reopening of the foreign slave trade. The meaning of this clause has been construed in two ways: as a respectful recognition of the enlightened public opinion of the world, or as a bid for the border slave states to join the Confederacy; for if the foreign trade were not reopened, the border states might retain the market for their slaves by joining the Confederacy.

For chief magistrate the whole South turned to Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. We have met Mr. Davis in the Mexican War, in the United States Senate, and in the Cabinet of Pierce. He was a native of Kentucky, had migrated to Mississippi, had espoused the cause of the slaveholder, and had risen in public and private life until he was the recognized leader of the far-famed aristocracy of the South. He was a graduate of West Point and was thoroughly trained in military, as well as in political, life. A nominal Democrat, he was in reality just the opposite; he was an aristocrat of the old school, typically represented in the preceding generation by John Randolph. Davis was a sincere, honest man, dignified, conservative, and intensely devoted to duty as he saw it.⁷⁰ He was the chief, though not the most radical, representative of the ultra-slaveholders, and, after the death of Calhoun, the ablest leader in the South.

⁷⁰ Burgess, Vol. I, p. 17.

For Vice President, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia was chosen. Though he was a man of strong intellect, the choice fell upon him rather because of the elements he represented. He had been a Whig, and had joined the disunionists only out of loyalty to his state. It was believed that his selection for the second office would attach to the southern cause the former Whigs and those who had reluctantly joined in the disunion movement. Mr. Davis chose a Cabinet of six members, one from each of the seceding states except his own.⁷¹ There were but two really strong men in this Cabinet,— Robert Toombs of Georgia, secretary of state, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, attorney-general.

Thus within three months after the election of Lincoln, and one month before his inauguration, seven of the Southern states had withdrawn from the Union, and had set up a government of their own,—on account of anticipated evils,—and this in the face of the repeated statements of the Republicans that they had no intention of interfering with slavery where it already existed, and in the face of the fact that they could not do so if they would, because both houses of Congress were still Democratic. As to the constitutional right to secede, the question is theoretical, and no amount of discussion would settle it in the minds of all. One point, however, may be mentioned. It is certain that the framers of the Constitution never meant that violent secession from the Union they formed should be possible. The Articles of Confederation provided that the Union formed by them should be “perpetual”; and while

⁷¹ More accurately, President Davis did not name the Cabinet, but left the selection from each state to the delegates in the convention from that state.



1805—ROBERT ANDERSON—1871.

1868.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

the Constitution, which supplanted them, does not mention this, it does provide for "a more perfect union" than the one that it replaced. How could a "more perfect union" be less enduring than the "perpetual" Union it was intended to supplant? And besides, as President Lincoln argued, it is beyond the bounds of reason that any government would provide for its own destruction.

But there is another light in which the unbiased historian must view this matter. Assuming that slavery is right, that the North was wrong in condemning it, the South was right in its desire to separate from the Union. A separation by violence, as Mr. Lincoln said, would have been an irreparable blow to popular government, but a peaceful separation by mutual agreement, had such a thing been possible, would have been immeasurably better than for the two sections to remain together and keep up forever the distressing quarrel that had distracted the country for so many years. With all our intense pride of nationality, it is a mistake to believe that the inclusion of the vast domain of the United States under one government is absolutely essential to the advance of modern civilization. It were better far that the country be divided into two friendly rival powers than that it remain under one government in perpetual warfare with itself. But, as is now acknowledged by all, slavery was a blighting evil to the country, a blot on the civilization of the nineteenth century; and, viewed in this light, the secession of the South may be considered a blessing, for it brought about the ultimate destruction of slavery.

THE WINTER IN WASHINGTON

President Buchanan was greatly perplexed at the rash and precipitate action of the cotton states. A true unionist

and an honest man at heart, his sympathies were nevertheless at first with the South. He firmly believed that the South had reason to be exasperated at the continued anti-slavery agitation at the North. In his annual December message to Congress he openly expressed this sentiment, but advised against disunion, as the election of an antislavery President did not afford just cause for dissolving the Union, especially as it was the result of "transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur." He also reminded the South that, with the exception of the Missouri Compromise, now repealed, Congress had never enacted a law that was unfavorable to the interests of slavery. What an admission from such a source! The message also denied the power of the President, or even of Congress, to prevent secession. Mr. Buchanan intended, no doubt, to conciliate the South by the tone of his message, but this he failed to do. On the other hand, the slaveholders were greatly encouraged in their work of destroying the Union, for now they were assured that there would be no forcible opposition to their course during the remainder of Buchanan's term. But Buchanan was not alone responsible for this message. Aside from the powerful influence of the southern members of his Cabinet over the mind of the President, he had received from his attorney-general, Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, an official opinion on the subject of secession, and on this opinion his message was largely based.

The North received the message of the President with astonishment. The press was severe in its criticisms, and the effect was soon felt in the Cabinet. General Cass resigned his position as secretary of state because he could

not agree with the President on the subject of secession,⁷² and Mr. Black became his successor. A few days later South Carolina passed its ordinance of secession, and this, with the rising sentiment at the North, wrought a sudden change in the attitude of Black. He now took a determined stand for the Union, and it was he that influenced the President not to recognize the South Carolina commissioners who came, a short time afterward, to treat with the government. But Black was not alone. Edwin M. Stanton, who became attorney-general, and Joseph Holt, the secretary of war, were staunch defenders of the Union cause, and these three soon gained the ascendancy over the vacillating President. In January General John A. Dix of New York was called to the treasury department, and his ringing dispatch to the treasury agent at New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot," had a magic effect in stimulating the North. Buchanan from this time forth was in full agreement with his reorganized Cabinet, though he still claimed that the executive had no power to coerce a seceding state. In a special message on January 8 he declared it the duty of the President to collect the public revenues and to protect the public property in all the states, and to use force in so doing if necessary. So different was the tone of this message from that of December that it was difficult to realize that they had emanated from the same pen.

No President had ever been placed in a more trying situation than was James Buchanan. He has been severely censured for his southern sympathy in the autumn of 1860. But it must be remembered that his most intimate lifelong associates were southern statesmen, that he was deeply

⁷² Notably on reënforcing the forts in Charleston harbor.

grieved at the recent defeat of his party, and that the revolt in the South was a revolt against the success of his political enemies. Could he now suddenly break the instincts of a lifetime, come out openly against his old friends, and espouse the cause of Republicanism? And further, it is almost certain that he believed at first that secession would be a temporary thing, that the Southern states would soon become quiescent, and that the fright given to the people of the North by the southern outbreak would be a good lesson for them. Again, it must be remembered that Buchanan was not a leader of men; he had little executive ability; he was cautious almost to timidity; he was not an originator of great movements, nor capable of standing out for a principle. For his attempt to force the Lecompton constitution on Kansas a few years before, Buchanan stands unforgiven at the bar of history; but for his action in this great crisis near the close of his public life, the unprejudiced American must deal gently with his memory.

The agitation in the North during this fateful winter was almost equal to that of the South. But there was little spirit of defiance; it was rather one of conciliation. Meetings were held in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, which expressed sentiments of conciliation for southern ears. At Philadelphia George William Curtis, who had been a strong antislavery advocate, was forced to cancel a lecture engagement for fear of a riot, and the Republican mayor of that city declared in a public speech that the criticisms of slavery from the pulpit, the lecture room, and the press should cease and must be "frowned down by a just and law-abiding people." A reaction against Republicanism was visible on all sides, and thousands regretted

having voted for Lincoln,⁷³ not that their sentiments on slavery had changed, but because they preferred the old régime to war or disunion. This feeling of the people was reflected in Washington, and the whole winter was spent by Congress in considering how the southern discontents might be conciliated.

A so-called Peace Congress met in Washington on the day of the meeting of the Confederate Congress at Montgomery. It was called by Virginia, and all the Southern states that had not seceded, and most of the Northern states, responded. Among the delegates to the Peace Congress we find some of the leading men of the country—William P. Fessenden of Maine, George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts, Wilmot of Pennsylvania, Chase of Ohio, Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, and the venerable ex-President Tyler of Virginia, who was chosen chairman of the Congress. After three weeks' deliberation this "Congress" sent its recommendations to Congress; but they came to nothing, and it is needless to discuss them.

The Senate had been deeply engaged in the discussion of the "Crittenden Compromise," so called from its author, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. This aged senator, who had devoted a long and useful life to the service of his country, was perhaps better fitted than any other to adjust the relations between the two sections, had such a thing been possible. He not only represented a border state that hung in the balance; he was also himself a political neutral. Formerly a Whig, he did not, at the fall of his own party, join the Republicans or the Democrats, but occupied a middle ground; and he was now fitted above all men to view both sides with the unprejudiced eye of a jurist. Crittenden

⁷³ Blaine, Vol. I, p. 273.

introduced his plan of compromise to the Senate on December 18, and two days later a committee of thirteen was appointed to consider the grave questions it involved.⁷⁴ This committee was composed of the best talent in the Senate, and represented all parties. With the venerable Crittenden at its head, with Seward, Wade, and others representing the Republicans, Jefferson Davis and Robert Toombs the extreme South, and Douglas the Democratic medium, the committee began its work in earnest. The great subject was slavery in the territories and Crittenden proposed that the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ be restored and extended to the Pacific Ocean; that Congress have no power to interfere with slavery in any state or territory south of that line; and that these provisions be added to the Constitution in an amendment which no future amendment could have power to affect. They were supported by the Democrats, but the Republicans and the extreme southern men voted in the negative and defeated the amendment. It afterward became known that the southern members would have voted for them, but for the stand made by the Republicans, and the latter have been censured for not having prevented the Civil War by making this concession. But their party had been founded, and their victory at the polls had been won, on the principle of non-extension of slavery in any territory. How could they make a concession that would destroy the foundation on which their party was built? On the last day of December the committee reported its inability to agree.

The House meantime was laboring to the same end

⁷⁴ More than two hundred proposals of amendment were offered at this session, but this one received the chief attention. See Ames's "Proposed Amendments," p. 194.

through a committee of thirty-three. This committee formulated a series of resolutions, embodying in substance the Crittenden Compromise; but they failed of passage. The House, however, adopted one resolution forbidding Congress or the people for all future time to molest slavery in any state where it existed, without the consent of the state. In other words, it made slavery perpetual in the United States. This moral, social, and political evil of the land, this darkest blot on American civilization, was to be entrenched forever in the organic law of the country. Such an amendment to the Constitution would have struck a blow at modern progress from which the country could not have recovered in a hundred years. And yet it was supported by many leading Republicans, and it passed the Senate, as well as the House, by the necessary two-thirds vote, and was sent to the states for ratification. But even such humiliation on the part of the North could not arrest the coming conflict; and the amendment, though later ratified by three states, Ohio, Maryland, and Illinois, fell to the ground, the whole question having been transferred meantime to the battlefield.

But Republican humiliation went still farther. Congress organized the three territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without a word concerning the prohibition of slavery within them. No one of course believed that these territories would become slave states, but in admitting them without mention of slavery the sole object was to avoid irritating the South. In this act the Republican party took the very same ground that Webster had taken in his Seventh of March Speech in 1850, and for the very same reason. These acts were passed, as well as the proposed amendment, after both houses had become Republican by

the withdrawal of the representatives of the seceding states.

From the House of Representatives these members withdrew gradually as their respective states seceded, most of them quietly and without a word of bravado or defiance. The senators were less reticent. Most of them made parting speeches, the general tenor of which was a censuring of the North for its antislavery agitation and its electing of a Republican President, a warning to the North that any attempt at coercion would be met by force of arms, and an expression of general satisfaction in their hope of peaceful and pleasant relations between the two nations. If one of them had a doubt that the South would be able to maintain its independence, such doubt found no place in his speech. Nothing seemed more grotesque than the effort of the senators from Florida and Louisiana, which had been purchased by the United States government, to explain that their respective states had now "resumed" their sovereign capacity. The most serious of these valedictories was that of Jefferson Davis. Assuming a plaintive and pathetic strain, he begged to be forgiven if he had pained any one in the heat of discussion; he expressed his sincere belief in the right of secession, and his regret that his state could no longer enjoy the benefits of the Union. So touching and mournful was this address of Davis that his audience was moved to tears. That night the great southern leader is said to have wrestled with God in prayer for peace. He was one of the few southern leaders who did not believe that the North would stand by and see the Union dismembered without war.

As the people of the North saw with chagrin that all their overtures for reconciliation during this fateful winter

were ignored by the South, as they beheld the property of the United States — forts, arsenals, and munitions of war — taken possession of by the seceding states, their feeling of conciliation began to change to one of resentment. Many at first believed the secession movement to be the usual wolf cry to frighten the North. As the affair grew more serious, public opinion was divided; some were for coercion, others declared that disunion was preferable to war. Among these latter was Horace Greeley, who advised that the southern sisters be permitted to depart in peace.⁷⁵ This attitude was taken by Henry Ward Beecher and by many other men of influence. Then came the period of conciliation; but as this failed, the inclination to preserve the Union by force gained ground rapidly. Greeley and Beecher were won to this view, and even President Buchanan was not averse to it, but he professed to want the authority. It is possible that Buchanan might have nipped secession in the bud by reënforcing Charleston harbor, but he declined to do this lest he should irritate the South to further violence.

Charleston harbor was the center of public interest during the winter. Fort Moultrie was occupied by Major Robert Anderson with a handful of men; but, deeming it unsafe, he dismounted his guns, burned the carriages, and quietly moved to the stronger fort, Sumter, near by in the harbor. This act was irritating to South Carolina, as it indicated that the forts, which the "sovereign" state claimed as its own, were not to be given up without a struggle. Still greater was the irritation when President Buchanan sent the *Star of the West* to relieve the fort with supplies. As the little vessel steamed into the harbor (Jan-

⁷⁵ *New York Tribune*, November 9, 1860.

uary 9), it was fired on from shore batteries and driven from the harbor without having accomplished its mission. These were the first shots of the Civil War.

Before the close of Buchanan's presidency the Confederate government had seized every fort, navy yard, mint, post office, and customhouse within the bounds of the seven states — except Fort Sumter, Fort Pickens, Key West, and the Dry Tortugas. General Twiggs had also surrendered to Texas a large portion of the regular army which was then in that state.⁷⁶ This seizure of public property was looked upon by the North as robbery, while at the South it was considered but a fair division.

The slave power seemed bent on its own destruction. It ignored every effort of the North to bring about a reconciliation. Every index seemed to point unerringly to war — a weak and vacillating President, the blind precipitancy of the South, the seizure of the forts, the firing on the *Star of the West*, the refusal of the South to listen to the friendly call for her to return. The lovers of peace looked with dismay on the rushing torrent of events, all pointing to dreadful, internecine war. The religious world cried unto the heavens in a wailing, piteous prayer for peace; but its prayer seemed unheard.

We now understand it all. Slavery was the blight on American civilization. The spirit of modern progress demanded its removal. In the course of human events nothing could do this but war. The nation must rise in its might and strike down this ungodly foe to its progress and development, and that meant war.

⁷⁶ The arms and equipment were seized, but the soldiers were permitted to return to the North.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

The time was now at hand for the installation of the new President. The moment was an ominous and fearful moment. Deplorable was the condition of the country. Seven states had left the Union and had organized a government of their own. They had seized United States property worth \$30,000,000. Other states were on the verge of secession. The glorious Union for which Washington had fought, which Jackson had preserved, which millions of Americans loved better than life, seemed on the verge of falling into fragments. Society was broken to pieces; men were hurrying to and fro with hot faces, not knowing what to do. Would the South yet return to its allegiance? It had answered, No. Would the Union be dismembered, or would there be war?

The answer was still locked in the bosom of one man, one of whom the world as yet knew but little. He had entered the capital by night and by stealth, for fear of the assassin's bullet. He stood now before the multitude and outlined the policy of the nation on the most momentous question that a great and free people were ever called on to decide. Never before and never since has a word fallen from a President's lips so eagerly awaited by the millions as was this inaugural address of Abraham Lincoln.

The inaugural was exceedingly moderate in tone. In spite of the failure of Congress in its conciliatory measures, he again held out the olive branch. He declared that he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, of interfering with slavery where it existed, and affirmed his belief that he had no lawful right to do so; he expressed his willingness to abide by the Fugitive Slave Law, and he went so far as to

give his approval to the unchangeable amendment to the Constitution, making slavery perpetual in the United States. Could the spirit of compromise go farther than this? Lincoln had been elected on a platform based on the non-extension of slavery, but not a word of this do we find in the address. He dealt only with the larger subject of preserving the Union.

But the iron hand was incased in the velvet glove. The speaker went on to declare that the Union was older than the Constitution, that the Constitution was adopted "to form a more perfect Union," that "no state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union," and that all ordinances to that effect were legally void. He declared the Union still intact and indissoluble; he declared his purpose of executing the laws in all the states, and that the Union would defend and maintain itself. The meaning of this was as clear as daylight. If the seceding states would not retrace their false step, there would be war. "The ills you fly from," said the speaker, "have no real existence. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. . . . You can have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it."

This remarkable address was weak at one point, to say nothing of its approval of that inflexible amendment to the Constitution. The speaker promised that there should be no "invasion" of any state, as if it were an "invasion" for the United States to send troops to any part of its own soil. He also asserted that it were better to leave the Federal offices unfilled for a time than to force "obnoxious strangers" upon a people who were hostile to the govern-

ment. This was a plain avowal by Lincoln that he would follow Buchanan's policy for the time in his attitude toward secession.

The Cabinet chosen by the new President was, William H. Seward, secretary of state; Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, secretary of War; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, secretary of the navy; Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, secretary of the interior; Edward Bates of Missouri, attorney-general, and Montgomery Blair of Maryland, postmaster-general. Two of the Cabinet, it will be noted, were from slave states, but none of them held slaves. The Cabinet was not harmonious on the great question before the country, nor had its members yet learned that, in addition to their ordinary department duties, they were only an advisory body, that the new President was their master, and that his judgment and not theirs would shape the policy of the nation. The general belief was that Seward would be the power behind the throne, that this unsophisticated President from the western prairies was fortunate in having such a genius to shape his policy and to guide his administration — and none believed this more firmly than Seward. A month had not passed when Seward offered to the President a memorandum,⁷⁷ outlining a policy for the government and at the same time offering himself as the agent to carry it out. Mr. Lincoln dismissed the subject with the quiet remark, "If this must be done, I must do it."

A week after the inauguration two commissioners from the South, John Forsyth and Martin J. Crawford, sent by President Davis, submitted to Secretary Seward a paper requesting an interview for the purpose of adjusting the

⁷⁷ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. III, p. 445.

questions growing out of the political separation of the two governments, and expressing their desire that a peaceful settlement would be reached. To these Mr. Seward, without ascertaining the views of the President, is said to have given some encouragement, leading them to believe that Fort Sumter would not be reënforced; but Lincoln decided otherwise, and his decision was final.

FORT SUMTER

The immediate attention of the country was attracted to the Charleston harbor. The defenses of the harbor had fallen into the hands of South Carolina, except Fort Sumter, still held by Major Anderson. This little morsel became the first object of contention, the means of precipitating the conflict of the giants. Fort Sumter was necessary to the Confederacy; it was the key to the harbor of the chief seaport of the South, save New Orleans. And yet the North could not yield up the fort without acknowledging the independence of the Confederacy. The provisions in the fort were running low, and if not relieved, Anderson must abandon it. The South intimated that an attempt to supply the fort would be considered an act of war. The matter was the subject of much negotiation at Washington. Five of the seven members of the Cabinet opposed an attempt to relieve the fort, and at length Lincoln promised not to do so without first notifying the governor of South Carolina. On the 8th of April this promised notice was given, and vessels were laden with provisions for Fort Sumter. General P. G. T. Beauregard, who had resigned from the United States Army, to join the Confederate service, had command of the forces about Charleston. He telegraphed to Montgomery the news of Lincoln's intention.

President Davis called a Cabinet meeting to decide the great question. He and Lincoln both well knew that war was now inevitable, but each was loath to strike the first blow. Davis's secretary of state, Toombs, declared that it would be fatal to fire on Fort Sumter. "At this time it is suicide," said he, "murder, and will lose us every friend at the North. You will wantonly strike a hornets' nest which extends from mountain to ocean, and legions now quiet will swarm out and sting us to death."⁷⁸ But other counsels prevailed, and the order was wired to Beauregard to demand the surrender of the fort, and in case of refusal, to reduce it. Beauregard made the demand, and it was refused. On the morning of April 12, some hours before daylight, the Confederate general sent word to Major Anderson that fire would be opened on the fort in an hour; and at the appointed moment a shrieking shell from Sullivan's Island announced to the world that the day of compromise was past, and that the most stupendous tragedy in modern history was begun.⁷⁹

Fifty cannon were soon pouring their deadly missiles into the walls of the doomed fort. As the morning arose the people of Charleston gathered along the wharf in thousands to witness the spectacle. Anderson and his little band returned the fire with vigor. The walls of the fort were soon shattered and crumbling; the barracks and woodwork were set on fire, and only by the greatest effort did the men save all from being consumed. They rolled nearly

⁷⁸ Stovall's "Life of Toombs," quoted by Rhodes, Vol. III, p. 347.

⁷⁹ Anderson had said that he must abandon the fort by noon of the 15th, if no supplies reached him. The decision to fire was made by Beauregard's four aides, who had discretionary power. Had Davis or Beauregard known the exact intention of Anderson, it is possible that the fort would not have been fired on.

a hundred barrels of powder into the sea to prevent explosions. So stifling was the air with smoke, dust, and cinders, that the men lay upon their faces and breathed through wet cloths. After the bombardment had continued for thirty-four hours the little band ⁸⁰ surrendered and marched out with the honors of war, and Fort Sumter passed into the hands of the Confederacy. This was considered the first blow of the Civil War, for the little matter of the *Star of the West* had been forgotten. At the fall of Sumter Charleston gave itself up to the same unrestrained, delirious joy that had marked the passing of the secession ordinance four months before.

The effect of the attack on the fort was magical throughout the North. If the shot was not "heard round the world," it certainly echoed from every hill and reverberated in every valley from the New England coast to the shores of Oregon. "Fort Sumter crystallized the North into a unit, and the hope of mankind was saved," said Emerson. The North had hesitated all through the winter. Millions were undecided what to do, but now this attack on a United States fort awakened their resentment with a unanimity that was surprising. Two days after the fall of Sumter President Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand militia, and the response from every section of the North was most gratifying. Not only the adherents of his own party, but all classes of citizens forgot their party differences and rushed to the defense of the country. Mr. Buchanan came out strongly for the Union. "The North will sustain the administration almost to a man, and it

⁸⁰ Anderson had one hundred and twenty-eight men, including non-combatants. It is a strange fact that not a life was lost on either side in this bombardment.

ought to be sustained at all hazards," wrote the ex-President to a former member of his Cabinet.

But most notable of all was the action of Douglas, to whom a parting word is now due. If there was a man in the North, aside from the President, in whose hands the fate of the Union rested, it was Stephen A. Douglas. The Republican party could not have won in the gigantic struggle but for the aid of the northern Democrats. More than a million men at the North looked to Douglas as their political leader, and his influence was at least coördinate with that of the memory of Jackson. What a power for good or for evil rested with this man! and the use he made of his power must lead posterity to condone every error of his earlier life. Not only did Douglas powerfully defend the President's inaugural in the extra session of the Senate, but on the day that intervened between the fall of the famous fort in the Charleston harbor and the call to arms, Douglas called on the President, and in a long, confidential interview pledged his support and offered his services in the cause of the Union. Next morning the press of the North published the President's call for troops, and in the same edition an account of this interview with Douglas. The effect on the followers of Douglas may be imagined. Southern hopes of a divided North vanished like a mist. Lincoln was greatly pleased with this attitude of his former rival, and, it is believed, would have offered him some high position of honor, had his life been spared. But Douglas was soon called to pay the debt of Nature; in June of this same year he was gathered unto his fathers.

The fall of Fort Sumter had an effect on the South quite equal to that on the North. This first blow struck by the South had the effect, as we have seen, of crystallizing the

North against disunion, and it unified a large portion of the South on the opposite side. Four slave states that had hesitated for months now proceeded to pass ordinances of secession, and thousands who had favored preserving the Union till that moment readily joined the forces of secession. This is explained, not only by the fact that the firing on the fort was a notice that the day of negotiation was past, but by the further fact that President Lincoln's call to arms that soon followed indicated his policy of coercion—a thing most distasteful to the South.

If there was one man in the South who could have prevented the secession of these four states it was John Bell of Tennessee. For many years he had stood high in the councils of his state and of the nation. He and Douglas had received a combined vote in the South a hundred thousand greater than the vote of Breckenridge. He could have held for the Union not only many of the old Whigs who had voted for him, but also the Douglas Democrats—probably half a million men; he might have been able to prevent secession in Tennessee and North Carolina; and Virginia never would have seceded if cut off from the cotton states by these two.⁸¹ But this man, who had stood on a "Constitution" and "Union" platform, now, probably because of his dislike of coercion, trampled the Constitution in the dust and gave his voice for disunion.

Virginia was the first to join the procession. Her convention had been sitting for weeks, and as late as April 4 had voted by two to one against secession. But Richmond was full of conspirators who labored night and day to get the

⁸¹ Virginia preceded these in seceding, but Virginia was morally sure that North Carolina and Tennessee would follow her. See Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. I, p. 311.

Old Dominion into the Confederacy. Now the hour had come; the state could swing in the balance no longer; and she cast her lot with her slaveholding sisters. But two days after Lincoln's call to arms the Virginia convention passed a secession ordinance. It then provided for submitting the ordinance to a popular vote; but this election would be dignified by calling it a farce. The convention proceeded to put the Virginia troops into the hands of Jefferson Davis, to send delegates to the Confederate Congress, to invite the Confederate government to make Richmond its capital, and to officially proclaim the commonwealth a member of the Confederacy,—all before the people had voted on the ordinance. Then they voted, and ratified it by a substantial majority. There was nothing else to do but to "get out of the state," as Senator Mason put it. Before the secession of Virginia was proclaimed, movements were set on foot to seize the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the government Navy Yard near Norfolk with its immense military stores, including two thousand cannon. Both were in the hands of the state authorities before the end of April. These were worth \$10,000,000; all the seizures by the South put together reached the grand total of \$40,000,000.

North Carolina and Arkansas seceded in May, and Tennessee in June. This made eleven, and here the process of secession stopped. Every effort was made by the Confederacy to win the four remaining slave states,—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri; but though the governors of Missouri and Kentucky did everything in their power to lead their respective states to secede, their efforts were fruitless. Even in the seceded states the disunion sentiment was not unanimous. In eastern Tennessee thou-

sands of the mountaineers opposed secession and remained true to the Union during the war. The same was true in western Virginia, where the people, repudiating the action of the state, broke away from it and formed the state of West Virginia. For thirty years the South had been united on the great questions growing out of slavery, while the North was always divided; now this condition was reversed — the North (save an isolated individual here and there) was united, not on the slavery question, but on the issue of preserving the Union, while the South was hopelessly divided.

NOTES

Lincoln's Journey to Washington.—Lincoln's journey to the capital was roundabout. He passed through most of the large northern cities, and in his brief addresses he seemed to treat the grave state of the country too lightly, declaring that there was no need of fear that there would be any bloodshed. When in Philadelphia on February 22, he received letters from Seward and General Scott advising that his published programme be changed, as there were serious threats of assassinating him when he passed through Baltimore. To this he refused to agree. "I cannot consent to it," said he. "What would the nation think of its President stealing into the capital like a thief in the night." He went to Harrisburg that morning, and there it was determined by his friends that it was needless to endanger his life, and that he should go to Washington *incognito* during the coming night. Lincoln yielded; but he ever afterward regretted having done so. Colonel Scott, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, took entire charge of the project. He cut all the telegraph wires leading out of Harrisburg, and sent Lincoln with a single companion, Colonel Lamon, to Philadelphia to catch the night train to Washington. Everything went smoothly, and after the friends of Lincoln had spent a sleepless night at Harrisburg, the wires being repaired about daybreak, they received the cipher telegram previously agreed on, "Plums delivered nuts safely," and Colonel Scott threw his hat into the air and shouted, "Lincoln is in Washington." See McClure's "Lincoln and Men of War Times," p. 45 *sq.*

Douglas at Columbus.—A few days after the fall of Fort Sumter,

Stephen A. Douglas, in journeying eastward to Washington, stopped to spend a night at Columbus, Ohio. The people of the city soon learned of his presence, and a large crowd gathered in the dim-lighted street about his hotel and called for an expression from him on the great question before the country. The crowd, composed of all parties, was not noisy; it was earnest, serious, and thoughtful. Douglas had not thought of making a speech, but he went half dressed to the unlighted window, his form appearing in dim outline to the waiting crowd. Then he spoke solemnly in slow, measured sentences, his deep, musical, sonorous tones rolling over the crowd—a veritable voice in the night. Here the great Democratic leader declared for the preservation of the Union at all hazards, for the crushing of insurrection, and pledged himself to the support of the Lincoln administration in the great crisis. "The people scarcely cheered," says an eyewitness, "and the silence seemed as a deep religious Amen from the multitude." See Coxe's "Reminiscences of the Civil War," pp. 5-6.

CHAPTER XXXI

BEGINNINGS OF THE GREAT WAR

A VIEW OF THE BELLIGERENTS

THE United States was now divided into two hostile sections ready to spring at each other in deadly combat. The North, including the border states and the newly admitted Kansas, was composed of twenty-three states, the South of eleven; the population of the North exceeded twenty-two millions, while the population of the seceding states was about nine millions. According to these figures it would seem that the North must win in the great contest that was before them. But in some respects the South had the advantage of the North. One of these was its unanimity. We have noticed that the slave states were geographically divided, that four of them refused to secede, and that two, Virginia and Tennessee, experienced a revolt against secession; but aside from these exceptions, the oneness of spirit in the slave states was remarkable. This seems the more surprising when one considers that in the entire Confederacy there were only about eight thousand large slaveholders, and that not more than three hundred and fifty thousand held slaves at all. These represented a population of less than two millions. More than five millions of the southern whites therefore were absolutely without interest in slave property; and yet these were as faithful as their slaveholding neighbors to the southern cause.

The North, on the other hand, was less unanimous after the first year of the war, when it became an abolition war, as well as a war against disunion. The firing on Fort Sumter, as aforesaid, swept the free states with one grand, patriotic impulse; but before the close of the great contest partisanship rose again to the surface, and the administration was often handicapped by want of hearty support. This was shown by the draft riots in New York, by the adverse result of the elections in many states, and by the severe criticisms of the methods of conducting the war, from within as well as from without the dominant party.

Another advantage of the South was found in its better trained men. The slaveholders were men well trained in the use of firearms and in horsemanship, while no such class could be found at the North outside the regular army. The Southern armies therefore were more efficient at first than their opponents from the North.

A third advantage of the Southerners was found in the fact that they fought on their own soil, and had the sympathy and support of the people. After secession had been accomplished they felt that the United States was a foreign nation, that its armies were invading their soil and destroying their homes for the sole purpose of conquest and subjugation. Such a belief infuses into men a desperate valor that nothing else can produce.

The advantages of the North, however, were greater than those of the South. First, it had more men and more money. The proportion of men was about as five to two, and this difference became very marked in the latter part of the struggle. In wealth the North far surpassed the South. At first the credit of the United States was low, but soon after the Midas touch of Secretary Chase began to

be felt, our bonds found a ready sale. A brilliant stroke was the establishing of the national banks in 1863, by which the government became responsible for the issue of local banks, and by thus laying its hand on the people's money, it restored confidence on all sides. The credit of the nation was far better at the close of the war than at its beginning.

The Confederacy had little specie, and it issued large quantities of paper money; but as the years passed and its cause seemed hopeless, its bills fell steadily in value until they became worthless.

Another advantage of the North lay in its foreign relations. Nothing is more essential to our modern civilization than foreign relations and foreign commerce. It was important to the United States to maintain its cordial relations with other powers, and it was absolutely essential to prevent the recognition by foreign countries of the independence of the Confederacy. Had any of the great European powers recognized the South, the blockade of the southern ports could have been broken in an hour, and the South could have sold its cotton, while food, clothing, and munitions of war would have poured into its ports in endless quantities. But the Confederacy fought the war through under the incalculable disadvantage of being without foreign relations, and the fact is due chiefly to the diplomatic skill of Lincoln's administration.

The North, however, might have won in the great struggle though its foreign relations had been suspended, as it had unbounded resources and the ability to use them. This brings us to the chief advantage of the North over the South — its ability to manufacture its own materials. Every soldier in the northern armies could have been fed from the northern farms, clothed from the northern mills,

and fully equipped from the northern foundries. But the South was purely an agricultural region. Slave labor was incapable of manufacturing; it could only delve the soil; nor could the skilled workmen be induced to go to the South and work among slaves. Hence its rich materials, its vast and inexhaustible resources, were left in the earth. It raised cotton, rice, tobacco, and cereals, sold them abroad, and purchased almost every manufactured article from the North or from Europe. When the war came, this trade was all shut off, and it was then too late to build factories; the men of brains were in the armies. This want of ability to manufacture, occasioned by slavery, was a source of fatal weakness to the South, and insured its ultimate defeat. Thus slavery not only brought about secession and the war, but, the war once begun, it brought about the defeat of the South.

EVENTS OF APRIL

The month of April, 1861, was exceedingly eventful in American history. We have noticed the fall of Fort Sumter, the secession of Virginia, the seizure of Harpers Ferry and of the great Navy Yard at Gosport near Norfolk, and have referred to the President's call to arms. Then came the great uprising of the North, the attack on the troops in Baltimore, the marshaling of southern armies, the proclamation of the blockade by President Lincoln—all within one week after the attack on Sumter. The President's call for troops was met throughout the North with a ready response. The farmer left his plow and the artisan his workshop, the merchant abandoned his store, and the banker his countingroom to answer the call to save the Union. Congress, it is true, has sole power to create armies and navies, but

this call for militia was based on a statute of sixty-five years' standing, by which the President was enabled to call the militia in any numbers into the service of the Union when necessary for the public safety. The object, as stated in the proclamation, was to put down insurrections in certain states, which were mentioned by name, and to repossess the forts and other places that had been seized. All mention of the Confederacy, and even of the states as units of insurrection, was avoided. Secession was not therefore recognized as the action of a state, but as the unlawful proceeding of certain disaffected classes within it.

The President's call was addressed to the governors of all the states North and South, except those in which rebellion existed. The response from the North was hearty and unanimous. The solitary Democratic governor in the North (in Rhode Island) marched at the head of his militia to the battle field. From the lower South favorable answers were neither expected nor received. The answers showed a spirit of defiance and a decisive refusal to send troops for the "wicked purpose of subjugating the Southern states." From the four border states that did not secede the answers were far from satisfactory. The governors of Kentucky and Missouri flatly refused, while those of Maryland and Delaware delayed and did nothing.⁸²

As the Massachusetts troops were passing through Baltimore on the 19th of April, they were attacked by a mob of southern sympathizers. The mayor did all in his power to preserve order, but the mob could not be restrained; it attacked the troops with pistols and missiles, and they were obliged to open fire in self-defense. Four of the soldiers

⁸² Governor Hicks of Maryland raised some troops after long delay.

and probably a dozen of their assailants were killed. This was the first bloodshed of the Civil War.

If anything more was needed to fire the northern heart after the attack on Sumter, the work of the mob in Baltimore supplied the deficiency. President Lincoln dealt with the matter in great moderation. He did not lose his temper; he quietly decided to avoid further trouble by bringing his troops to the capital by way of Annapolis. Baltimore remained in a state of great commotion for three weeks, when General B. F. Butler of Massachusetts took military possession of the city.

This 19th of April was to receive still another mark as a historic date. It was on this same day that witnessed the first bloodshed of the Civil War, the anniversary of the first bloodshed of the Revolution, that the American President issued a proclamation of unmeasured importance. He proclaimed a blockade of the ports of the seceded states.⁸³ This seemed an audacious utterance indeed. The United States Navy was composed of but forty-two wooden vessels, and more than half of these were in foreign waters, while the blockade covered three thousand miles of seacoast. Was the new President a dreamer or a genius? The world had not yet taken his measure, and knew not how to classify him. At first the blockade amounted to little; but ere long the vessels began to arrive from afar, merchant vessels were turned into ships of war, the northern shipyards were kept busy day and night, one southern port after another was shut in by a cordon of war vessels, and long before the close of the war the South was hemmed in and isolated from the

⁸³ The ports of Virginia and North Carolina were not included in this proclamation, but these were included in an additional one issued on the 27th.

rest of the world. Great stacks of cotton piled along the seaboard could be bought for four cents a pound, while it was worth \$2.50 at Liverpool. A ton of salt worth \$7 or \$8 at Nassau, was worth \$1700 in gold at Richmond before the close of the war—all because of the blockade. The South was in the direst need of arms and clothing, but it could purchase nothing from abroad, owing to the blockade. Had the southern markets been open to the world, the conquest of the Confederacy would have been almost impossible. Scarcely more did the northern armies toward compassing the collapse of the rebellion than did the blockade.

The spirit of secession in Maryland was not confined to the city of Baltimore; it swept in a sudden wild, enthusiastic wave over the state. But it was short-lived; it was the cry of a vigorous minority. Before the close of April the sober second thought began to assert itself; two thirds of the people were found to be for the Union, and the legislature decided by a large majority to cling to the old flag. And yet Maryland did not rush to the defense of the Union. As the state lay between the two great sections, the people halted between two opinions. The legislature voted to take a neutral ground as to actual hostilities, and sent an embassy to Montgomery, and another to Washington, to implore the respective Presidents to cease the unholy war. In the course of this war, however, many Marylanders fought in the Union armies, while others took the side of the South.

In the other two great border states, Kentucky and Missouri, there were similar struggles, with the same result as in Maryland. It happened that in Missouri both the governor, Jackson, and the legislature were favorable to seces-

sion. In January a call was made for the election of a convention to decide the great question, and to the chagrin and surprise of the authorities a large majority of the delegates so elected were Unionists. Governor Jackson, however, did everything in his power to lead the state into secession and to seize the United States arsenal at St. Louis. But St. Louis at this moment contained a staunch defender of the Union in the person of Francis P. Blair, Jr., a brother of Mr. Lincoln's postmaster-general. The governor found his plans foiled at every point by the ever watchful Blair. Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who had command of the arsenal, worked hand in hand with Blair to save the state and the arsenal. Governor Jackson was busy organizing the forces of secession: he established "Camp Jackson" in the suburbs of the city, and sent to President Davis for arms and ammunition. These arrived on May 8, and two days later Lyon marched out with six thousand men, surrounded the camp, and forced its surrender without bloodshed.

This was a great blow to the secession cause in Missouri, but the trouble did not end here. The whole state was in turmoil, and the scenes of a few years before in Kansas were repeated. Governor Jackson and Sterling Price, his chief lieutenant, demanded as a condition of peace that Federal troops should not be stationed within the state, nor be permitted to pass through it. Blair and Lyon refused to agree to this, and their decision was construed by Jackson and Price as a declaration of war upon the state. Jackson issued a call for fifty thousand volunteers to defend the state. This was a challenge, and Lyon, so accepting it, sailed up the Missouri in June and took possession of the capital. Thus Missouri became one of the first battlefields of the war, as

we shall notice on a later page; but at this point we turn to take a view of her sister south of the Ohio.

President Lincoln was extremely anxious to save Kentucky for the Union, not simply because of its strategic importance, which was great, but also because it was his native state and he regarded it with peculiar affection. Governor Beriah Magoffin was a decided secessionist, as was also the foremost man in the state, John C. Breckenridge; but their combined influence was not great enough to control the people of the state, or even the Democratic legislature. Governor Magoffin used every effort in his power to lead the legislature to call a secession convention and to arm the state under Simon B. Buckner, a known secessionist; but that body answered him by passing a law requiring an oath of allegiance to the Union. However, Kentucky, like Maryland, failed to hasten to the aid of the Union at the President's call; it decided on a neutral ground towards the war.⁸⁴ President Lincoln tacitly consented to the neutral position of Kentucky, on the supposition that the soil of the state would soon be invaded by Confederate armies, when the people would gladly welcome Federal troops to expel them; and this is exactly what came to pass. On the 20th of June the state voted for members of Congress, and to the lasting joy of the administration the Union party polled nearly three votes to one for the secessionists, electing nine out of ten members by a combined majority of 55,000. Thus ended the hopes of the disunionists for Kentucky, though the state, like Maryland and Missouri, furnished many soldiers for each side in the war.

⁸⁴ Nevertheless the Confederate Congress went through the farce in December, 1861, of admitting Kentucky into the Confederacy.

OPENING OF HOSTILITIES IN VIRGINIA AND MISSOURI

President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men and for an extra session of Congress was answered by President Davis by a call for 100,000⁸⁵ men and for an extra session of the southern Congress. The Confederate Congress met on the 29th of April, authorized the raising of \$50,000,000, forbade the payment of all debts due from the southern people to individuals or corporations in the free states, admitted Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas to the Confederacy and moved the capital to Richmond.

Lincoln, on May 3, called for 42,000 more volunteers for three years unless sooner discharged, for an increase of the regular army by 22,714 men, and for the enlistment of 18,000 seamen for the navy. It was now plain that both sides were preparing for war in earnest. The great immediate concern of the Lincoln administration was to make safe the city of Washington. Soon after the fall of Sumter a member of Davis's Cabinet had boasted that by the first of May the Confederate flag would float over the capitol at Washington. This threat was published throughout the North, and it caused much fright among the people. The fear was greatly increased by the knowledge of the gathering of the Confederate armies in northern Virginia and the inability of the northern troops to pass through Baltimore on their way to the defense of the capital. No attempt to take the city was made by the Confederates, but had such an attempt been made before the 25th of April it might have succeeded. But all fears were scattered on that day by the arrival of two New York and Massachusetts regiments. And others were coming. Before the end of May 50,000

⁸⁵ Or rather, he stated in his message that such an army was being raised under authority of a preceding act of Congress.

troops had gathered in the city, and they crossed the Potomac and took possession of Alexandria, and of the famous heights of Arlington.⁸⁶ Here they paused; and the Confederate army, scattered from Harpers Ferry to Norfolk, also remained inactive.

Meantime the war had actually begun in another quarter. Early in May Governor Letcher of Virginia called for the militia of that state to assemble under arms for the purpose of repelling an apprehended invasion from the "government at Washington." This meant nothing else than an enlistment in the Confederate service. But the people living beyond the Alleghanies, throughout that section of Virginia bordering on Ohio and Pennsylvania, were not in sympathy with the rebellion. They had few slaves, and their interests lay with the North. Why should they take up arms against the Union and the flag which they loved? They refused to do so; they held mass meetings in Wheeling and other cities, and declared their adherence to the Union. Some forty counties, including a few east of the mountains, held a convention in June, and the delegates were almost unanimous in their desire to have the western counties break away from the old state and form a new one. One of the chief objects of the convention was to bring about a division of the state. The convention chose Francis H. Pierpont governor, not of the proposed new state, but of Virginia, taking the ground that the loyal citizens of the state truly represented it, and that the disunion govern-

⁸⁶ As Colonel Ellsworth, the commander of the New York Fire Zouaves, entered Alexandria he saw a Confederate flag flying over a hotel, and, mounting the stair on the inside, he hauled it down. As he came down the stairway he was met by the hotel keeper, who shot Ellsworth dead on sight. The next instant the hotel keeper was shot by one of Ellsworth's men. See Greeley, Vol. I, p. 533.

ment at Richmond was illegal. It was this government that applied to Washington for a division of the state. Some time later senators and representatives were sent to the Congress—not at Richmond, but at Washington. A constitution was framed for the new state, and was ratified by the people in May, 1862. The following year West Virginia became a state in the Union, Congress agreeing with the loyal citizens that they legally represented Virginia. The clause in the Federal Constitution forbidding the division of any state without its consent was overcome on the ground that, as secession was illegal and void, the West Virginians represented Virginia, and their consent to the division was deemed sufficient.

Governor Pierpont had applied to President Lincoln for assistance in driving out the secessionists. The request was granted, and western Virginia became the first battle ground of the Civil War; and the first hero of the war, aside from Major Anderson, was George B. McClellan, a young army officer who had resigned his commission and was now president of a railroad company and residing in Cincinnati. His first serious work was to clear western Virginia of Confederates, and he addressed himself to the task with great vigor.

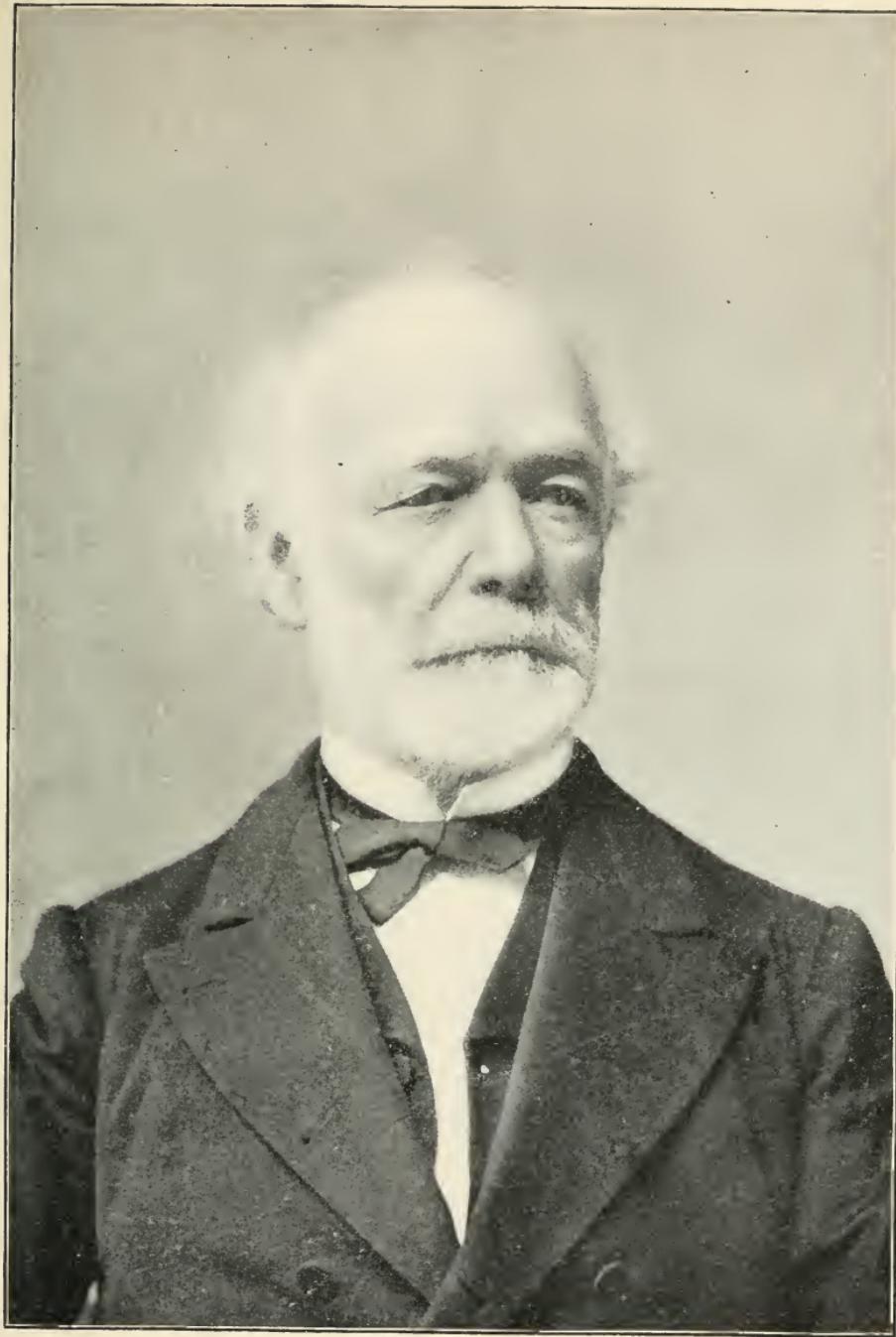
In a series of skirmishes, covering but a few weeks, he drove the enemy entirely out of that part of Virginia. The Union loss, according to McClellan's report, was twenty killed and sixty wounded, while the loss of the enemy was about twenty times as great, with a thousand taken prisoners. This preliminary work was very important in its results. It saved that entire section for the Union, re-established the broken railroad lines westward from Wash-

ington, and pointed toward McClellan as the coming man in the great war that was to follow.

While these things were going on, conditions were maturing in eastern Virginia for the first great battle of the war. Public opinion at the North was impatient at the inaction of the army along the Potomac. Why not strike a blow for the Union? This was the cry all over the North, and though General Winfield Scott, the commander-in-chief, did not favor giving battle at that moment, the pressure was too great to be resisted. General Irvin McDowell held 45,000 men on the Potomac opposite Washington; General Butler, who had been transferred from Baltimore, occupied Fortress Monroe with 10,000, while General Patterson marched from Pennsylvania into Virginia with 20,000 men. Opposed to these were General J. B. Magruder, facing Butler with about the same force; General Joseph E. Johnston with some 12,000 men, who had retreated from Harpers Ferry to Winchester at the approach of Patterson; while opposite McDowell, with his base at Manassas, Beauregard,⁸⁷ who in former years had been a classmate of McDowell at West Point, held the main Confederate army of about 20,000 men. Such was the military situation in eastern Virginia when the administration decided on a general advance for the purpose of offering battle.

On the 16th of July McDowell moved forward with 30,000 men, to attack Beauregard at Manassas. Every indication pointed to a Northern victory. McDowell was a good strategist. The plan of the coming battle was his own, though the general movements were directed from

⁸⁷ Beauregard had resigned from the United States army, as had also many of the Confederate officers, some two hundred in all.



1807—JOSEPH EGGLESTON JOHNSTON—1891.

1885.

From an original photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D.C.

Washington by General Scott. The North was in high spirits in anticipation of the battle. Many members of Congress drove out from Washington to receive the earliest word of the expected victory of the "Grand Army." And it would have been realized but for the unaccountable action of General Patterson, who failed to detain Johnston at Winchester as he was ordered to do. Instead of doing this he withdrew to Charleston, twenty-two miles away, and Johnston hastened to join Beauregard with the major part of his army. Patterson was a veteran of the War of 1812 and of the Mexican War, and though he was a Breckinridge Democrat in the campaign of 1860, there is little ground to question his loyalty to the Union. His costly blunder was the result of incapacity. He was speedily relieved of his command, and Nathaniel P. Banks was appointed in his stead.

McDowell had planned the battle with reference to Beauregard's army alone, and did not know of the arrival of Johnston till after the battle. He decided to make the attack on Sunday, July 21, and before three o'clock in the morning his army moved from Centreville in three columns under Generals Tyler, Hunter, and Heintzelman.⁸⁸ Tyler was to make a feint on Beauregard's left; the other two were to make a long detour and cross Bull Run at Sudley Ford and make the real attack. Hunter's division met the enemy at ten o'clock and opened fire. In a short time the Confederates were driven back a mile and a half to a plateau where General Thomas J. Jackson stood with a brigade awaiting the Union forces. At this point the Confederate General Bee, who was mortally wounded later in

⁸⁸ Two other divisions, under Miles and Runyon, were left to guard the base at Centreville and the communications with Washington.

the day, is said to have exclaimed to his men, "Look at Jackson, there he stands like a stone wall!"—and from that time this remarkable commander, whose powers were yet to be revealed, was known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

The firing was heard by Beauregard and Johnston, then four miles away, and they galloped to the scene of the conflict. Johnston was the ranking officer, but he approved most of the plans of Beauregard, and the two worked in harmony during the day. They arrived on the field at noon and ordered an immediate renewal of the fight. The battle raged for three hours longer. The divisions of Tyler and Heintzelman having joined that of Hunter, the Union forces surged up the slope and gained possession of the hill. They were driven back by Jackson at the point of the bayonet; but they rallied and regained their ground, sweeping the Confederates from the field. Such was the condition at three o'clock. The Union troops began to rejoice in their victory.

But at this moment the Confederates began to cheer and to move forward with great confidence. Why the sudden change? General Kirby Smith had just arrived with the remnant of Johnston's army, over twenty-five hundred men. These fresh troops were joined to the army of Beauregard and the whole force moved impetuously against McDowell. The word now flew through the Union ranks that Johnston's army had arrived, and the untrained militia were seized with a sudden fear.⁸⁹ They began to waver, to re-

⁸⁹ They had not yet learned that Johnston with most of his army had arrived on Saturday. The Union loss in this battle was 481 killed, 1,011 wounded, and about 1,300 prisoners, many of whom were wounded. The Confederate loss was 387 killed, 1,582 wounded, and a few prisoners. The Union army also lost 28 cannon, 5,000 muskets, and half a million cartridges.

treat down the slope; and in a little time they were a panic-stricken, disorganized mass, fleeing for their lives across the Virginia plains. In vain did McDowell and his officers attempt to rally the frightened men. They believed the Confederates were pursuing them (which was not true), and they fled on and on till late in the night, many of them never stopping till they reached the heights of Arlington or Washington, thirty miles from the scene of the conflict. Thus ended the famous, disastrous battle of Bull Run.

The news of the defeat at Bull Run caused deep depression and indignation at the North. McDowell was severely censured, but he had done nobly, and deserved no blame. The army was denounced as a band of cowards, but unfairly and unjustly. Most of them were untrained in military affairs ; they had enlisted in the war through a patriotic impulse, with little knowledge of the real character of war. They had been thrown into a panic, had lost their heads and become uncontrollable through a sudden fright. Such an experience might come to any body of raw militia, but it would hardly be possible with regulars.

The battle of Bull Run was in the end a great lesson for the North. It misled the South by giving the people a false sense of security, a belief that ultimate success was certain. The North, on the other hand, after a few days of depression and discouragement, arose to the gravity of the situation. People realized for the first time that a long and bloody war was necessary to save the Union ; and the slight wound received at Bull Run awakened the mighty energy that was essential to success.

Next to Virginia, Missouri became the earliest battle ground of the war. As we have noticed, Governor Jackson

and the legislature made the most desperate efforts to lead Missouri into secession, but the people thought otherwise. They elected a Union convention which declared the office of governor and other offices vacant, and appointed Union men to fill them. These appointments were ratified by the people. But the discredited governor and a fragment of his discredited legislature met in November, and boldly set forth a declaration of independence and pronounced the state out of the Union. This movement proved a fiasco; it had no influence with the people.

We left General Lyon at Jefferson City, whence he removed to Springfield to join forces with fifteen hundred men under Colonel Franz Sigel. The Missourians under Sterling Price had meantime been joined by General Ben McCulloch with a force from Texas and Arkansas, raising the entire army to nearly twelve thousand, while that of Lyon was not over six thousand. On the 9th of August Lyon advanced from Springfield to the banks of Wilson's Creek, ten miles from the town, where Price and McCulloch were encamped. Sending Sigel with twelve hundred men around the enemy's right to strike from the rear, Lyon commanded the main army and advanced to attack in front. The two attacks were made, front and rear, at almost the same moment, about five o'clock in the morning. Sigel made a desperate charge but was driven back with a loss of two thirds of his men. In front the battle continued for some hours, Lyon leading his men with great gallantry. Twice he was wounded, and his horse was shot under him; but while the blood was streaming from a wound in the head, he mounted a second horse and shouted to his men to follow him in a final attack, but at that moment he received a fatal shot in the breast. The death of Lyon, one of



1841—KING EDWARD VII.

1860.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the possession of Frederick H. Meserve,
New York.

the bravest and most skillful officers in the service of the government, was a national disaster. After his death the little army, under Major Sturgis, fought on valiantly for an hour longer, when it retreated in good order to Springfield and thence to Rolla. The total Union loss in the battle of Wilson's Creek slightly exceeded twelve hundred, while the Confederates sustained a loss of about eleven hundred and fifty.

THE EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS

Before the battles of Wilson's Creek and Bull Run the Thirty-seventh Congress had met in special session at the call of the President. Two notable leaders of the Senate, Seward and Chase, were now in the Cabinet, and the seat of the latter was filled by John Sherman, whose six years' service in the House had prepared him for a long and useful career. Of the twenty-two senators representing the eleven seceded states, all had left that body save Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, who alone remained true to the Union. But many able leaders yet remained. New England was represented by Sumner and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Jacob Collamer of Vermont, Fessenden of Maine, and John P. Hale of New Hampshire. From Pennsylvania came David Wilmot; from Ohio, Benjamin Wade; from Illinois, Lyman Trumbull; from Kentucky, John C. Breckenridge, and from far-away Oregon, the popular English-born soldier-statesman, Edward D. Baker.

The leader of the House was Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who held the leadership throughout the war, and whose sympathy with the slave almost led him to dislike his own race. Among the ablest men in the House were George H. Pendleton of Ohio, Elihu B. Washburn of

Illinois, and George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts. Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania was elected Speaker.

Mr. Lincoln's message was a remarkably clear statement of the condition of the country, the purpose of the government, and the importance to the world of saving the Union. "This issue," he stated, "embraces more than the fate of the United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. . . . Must a government be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?" That the President no longer thought of compromise is clear from his statement that "no popular government can long survive a marked precedent, that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election." As to the criticisms of the President for having in April suspended the writ of Habeas Corpus,⁹⁰ he shows how this apparent violation of one law was to enforce all the others that had been violated at the South, and disposes of the matter in a stroke by saying, "Are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated?" He confessed in this message that he had surpassed his constitutional powers in his call of May 4 for an increase in the regular army and of the navy; but he showed the public necessity for these acts and asked Congress to ratify them. He also called for four hundred thousand men and \$400,000,000 to prosecute the war.

The session was in full swing when the news of the Bull

⁹⁰ For the suspending of Habeas Corpus, see note at end of chapter.

Run defeat reached the members; but this only stimulated them, as it did the entire North, to the greater determination to put down the rebellion at all hazards. One of the first important acts was to authorize the President (July 25) to call out five hundred thousand volunteers for three years, or for the period of the war; and a few days later another act was passed largely increasing the regular army and the navy. The finances were also well taken care of. The secretary of the treasury was authorized to borrow \$250,000,000 by issuing bonds and treasury notes; duties on certain imports were greatly increased; an annual income tax of three per cent was laid on all incomes exceeding \$800. Finally, on August 6, the last day of the session, the earlier acts of the President in augmenting the navy and army were ratified, and he was authorized to seize and confiscate any property used or intended to be used against the government of the United States. After having thus put the country on a war footing, Congress adjourned, leaving the President practically military dictator.

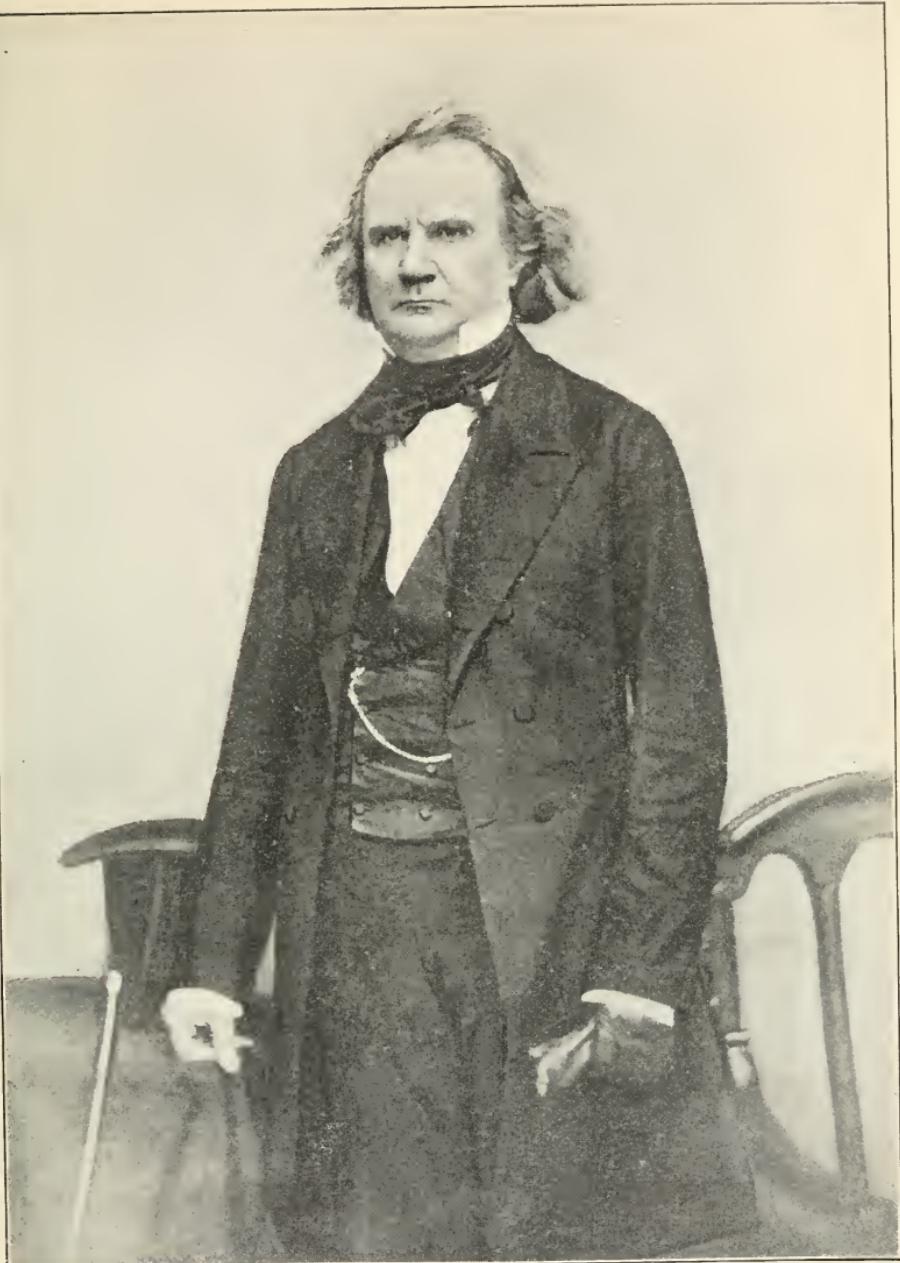
The session was remarkable for the rapid dispatch of business and for the adoption of the following resolution, offered by the venerable Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky: "That . . . Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; this war is not waged . . . in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest . . . but to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states unimpaired; and as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war ought to cease." By this resolution it will be seen that the war was not a war against slavery at this time; but nothing could long keep the slavery question out of Congress; this was shown in December of

the same year, when Congress, called upon to vote on a resolution similar to the above, defeated it by a large majority. Even in this extra session an act, known as the Confiscation Act, was passed, by which freedom was given to any slave who should be employed in any way against the government of the United States.

THE TRENT AFFAIR

The "Trent Affair" played an important part in our foreign relations during the early portion of the war period; but the account of it must be preceded by a hurried glance at the relations that led up to it.

It was impossible that a prolonged civil war should be carried on in America without profoundly affecting the civilized world; and the attitude of Europe, especially of England, was a matter of deep concern to the American people at the beginning of the great struggle. Never before had a more friendly spirit existed between England and the United States than in the autumn of 1860. Seldom had a year passed from the founding of the United States government seventy years before, without a dispute of some kind with the mother country; but in December, 1860, President Buchanan could truthfully say in his message to Congress that, as "two dangerous questions arising from the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and from the right of search" (which had come up for the last time in 1858) had been amicably settled, our relations with Great Britain were of the most friendly character. Lord Lyons, the British minister at Washington, pronounced this message the most cordial that had ever appeared in such a communication. Moreover, the young Prince of Wales had just visited our shores, bearing the good will of his royal mother to our government and



1798—JAMES MURRAY MASON—1871.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative, in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

people, and receiving from them the most unfeigned expressions of the nation's friendship. The *London Times*, commenting on the planting of a tree at the tomb of Washington by the prince, said: "It seemed, when the royal youth closed the earth around the little germ, that he was burying the last faint trace of discord between us and our great brethren in the West." But all this was soon changed by the rising war cloud in America.

The nation looked to England for sympathy in its struggle for life; the southern Confederacy appealed to England's commercial interests, for it was the South that supplied the material that moved the machinery of the great cotton mills of Liverpool, of Manchester, and of Leeds. How would England decide between the two sections? On the one hand were the friendly relations with the United States; on the other, the want of cotton, which could be had only by breaking the blockade and thus making war with the United States. An independent South meant free trade with the cotton states in future, and the bait was an alluring one to the English. But another consideration it was that probably prevented an early recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain. Slavery was the acknowledged corner stone of the Confederacy, and the English disliked slavery. From the time of Lord Mansfield's famous decision in 1772 slavery had not been permitted on the home soil, nor in the British colonies after 1833. How could the English aid in establishing a nation founded on slavery?

But commercial interests are powerful, and the sympathies of the higher classes in England were at first almost wholly with the South.⁹¹ The press and the great quar-

⁹¹ See Justin McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times," Vol. II, p. 224.

terlies of England favored the South. "We believe the conquest of the South to be a hopeless dream," said the *Quarterly Review*. "The Federal government can never succeed in putting down the rebellion," said Mr. Gladstone.⁹² Early in March a motion was introduced into the House of Commons for the recognition of the independence of the South. Commercial interest, however, was not perhaps the solitary cause of this feeling. There was a general fear on the other side of the Atlantic that the American republic was growing too fast. This was voiced by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who said in an address,⁹³ "I believe that such separation will be attended with happy results to the safety of Europe and the development of American civilization. . . . America would have hung over Europe (but for its being divided by the Civil War, which the speaker assumed to be already accomplished) like a gathering and destructive thunder cloud." This feeling was natural in Europe, nor is it a just ground for present-day resentment in America. Europe foresaw that the United States, if they remained together, would grow into a vast power of unmeasured strength, but did not see that we would be a conservative people who love peace far better than war. To become a military bully because of conscious power is utterly foreign to the American spirit, nor can such a condition ever be possible without a complete revolution in public opinion, of which there is yet no tendency.

Before the close of Buchanan's administration Secretary Black had written an order to our foreign ministers that

⁹² In 1896 Mr. Gladstone, in his old age, wrote in his diary that his offense was grossly improper in giving this opinion in 1862. See Morley's "Life of Gladstone," Vol. II, p. 81.

⁹³ Before the agricultural society of Hertford County, September 25, 1861. Quoted by Harris, "The Trent Affair," p. 27.

they use every effort with the respective countries to which they were assigned to prevent a recognition of the Confederacy. This was repeated in a more emphatic way by Secretary Seward soon after the inauguration of Lincoln. Most countries made favorable answers; but England, through her foreign minister, refused to commit herself one way or the other. Early in May, Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, embarked for England as minister to that country from the United States. On the day of his landing and before he had met the British officials, the queen's proclamation of neutrality was made public. This accorded to the South the same belligerent rights, the same war privileges, that international law accords to a sovereign power. This hasty action of Great Britain, which was soon followed by France and most of the other European governments, was looked upon by the American people as showing an unfriendly spirit. It is true that the United States was forced a few months later to do this very thing—to acknowledge the belligerent rights of the South, not openly, but by its treatment of Confederate soldiers according to the rules of war—but why should a foreign power do this first, before a state of war actually existed, and in the face of our protest? As John Bright said in the House of Commons, "It was done with unfriendly haste."⁹⁴

In a few months, however, when it was seen that the British government was not inclined at that time to ac-

⁹⁴ Speech of March 13, 1865. British writers have justified the action of the queen by taking the ground that President Lincoln had in substance acknowledged the belligerency of the South by his blockade proclamation of April 19, and that a foreign power could not respect the blockade without recognizing the state of war. But there is no international rule of this sort. For example, Russia blockaded her own

knowledge the independence of the Confederacy,⁹⁵ the feeling of bitterness awakened by the proclamation was greatly softened. There was also a reaction in England. Public opinion veered around and in some degree came to favor the North. This change was partially due to a series of articles describing slavery in the South, published in the *London Times* from its special correspondent who was traveling in the Southern states.

Meantime the Confederate government was industriously seeking recognition from foreign powers, especially from England. The southern leaders believed that cotton would eventually unlock the doors that were at first closed against them. "We do not like slavery," said Lord Palmerston, the British Premier, to an American in London, "but we want cotton, and we dislike very much your Morrill tariff."⁹⁶ While refraining from recognizing the South as a nation, the British government seemed to be preparing for some unusual movement. Twenty-five thousand fresh British troops were stationed along the Canadian border, in the fear that the Americans "might do something," as the English foreign minister said to Mr. Adams. Accordingly Secretary Seward addressed a circular letter to the governors of all states along the northern border and the New England coast, suggesting that they, in conjunction with the Federal government, put the ports and harbors

ports on the Black Sea for five years succeeding 1831, as they were in the hands of the Circassian rebels. England recognized this blockade without acknowledging the belligerent rights of the rebels. See Harris, p. 51.

⁹⁵ The motion to recognize the independence of the South introduced in the Commons in March, was withdrawn in June.

⁹⁶ See Rhodes, Vol. III, pp. 431, 433.



1798—CHARLES WILKES—1877.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

in the best state of defense. This circular caused much unfavorable comment in Canada and England.

Scarcely had this circular reached the respective governors when occurred the episode known as the Trent Affair, which strained the peaceful relations between the United States and the British Empire almost to the breaking point. President Davis had determined to send two men of established reputation to represent his government at London and Paris. James M. Mason of Virginia and John Slidell of Louisiana were chosen. Mr. Mason belonged to one of the most prominent families of Virginia; he had served for many years in the United States Senate, and was the writer of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Slidell had also served in the Senate. Both were secessionists of the ultra type.

At midnight of October 12, 1861, Mason and Slidell escaped from Charleston Harbor in an armed blockade runner and reached Havana in safety. On November 7 they embarked from that port for Southampton, England, on the British mail steamer *Trent*. At about noon of the next day, as the *Trent* was steaming through the Bahama Channel, she was hailed by an American sloop and ordered, by a solid shot across her bows, to heave to. Disregarding this, the *Trent* was brought to a stop by a shell that exploded in front of her. The American vessel proved to be the *San Jacinto*, a screw sloop of fifteen guns. Captain Charles Wilkes was her commander. Wilkes was known as a skillful naval officer, but he was better known as a scientist and an explorer. He had made a famous voyage to the Antarctic seas, where he discovered and gave his name to that dreary, unpeopled land which is marked in our geographies as "Wilkes Land." Hearing that the two southern envoys had embarked on the *Trent*, Wilkes determined to

make them his prisoners. The English captain was highly indignant at the demand, but he had no power to resist, and after Mason and Slidell and their two secretaries had been transferred to the *San Jacinto* the *Trent* was permitted to proceed on her way. The two men were carried to Boston Harbor and confined as prisoners of war in Fort Warren.

The news of Wilkes's capture produced the first hearty rejoicing of the war throughout the North. The press and the people raised a shout of joy over the clever capture. Captain Wilkes was given an ovation in Boston, another in New York, and he became a popular hero of the day. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks, and the Cabinet, except one member, joined in the general chorus of rejoicing. But there was one man, the wisest and farthest-sighted of them all, who did not join in the general joy. This was President Lincoln. On the evening of the day that brought the news of the capture, he said that he feared the captives would prove white elephants, and declared that "we fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done." He foresaw that the attitude of England in the matter must be reckoned with, and Postmaster-General Blair shared his views.

When the news of the capture reached England, a universal outburst of anger overspread the kingdom. As the American public had rejoiced without considering the gravity of the situation, so the English people were equally thoughtless in flying into a passion. They ignored all precedents arising from their own claim of the right of search, and saw in the act of Wilkes only the violation of the British flag. The law officers of the Crown decided that the act of Captain Wilkes was illegal because he did

not take the *Trent* into port and subject his capture to the decision of a prize court. The war spirit rose to fever heat, and the government began making immediate preparations for war. Great quantities of cannon, muskets, and ammunition were loaded on shipboard for Canada. Thirty thousand men were sent to Halifax, in the belief, however, that they were going straight to Charleston to join the Confederate armies.

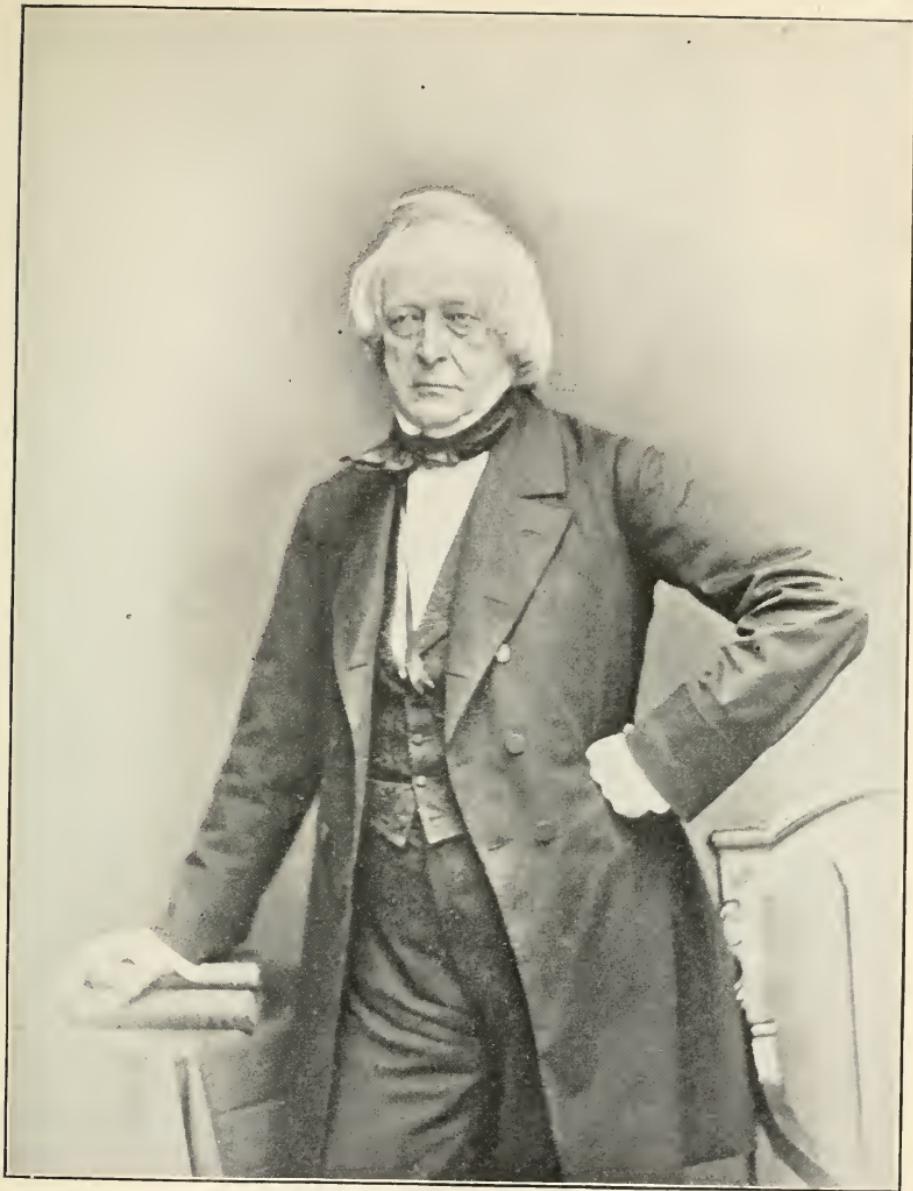
With great promptness the British ministry framed a formal demand on America for reparation. This was sent to the queen for her approval, and Prince Albert wrestled with it a whole night, greatly modifying the harshness of its tone. This was the last official writing of the Prince Consort; his health was rapidly failing, and within a few weeks he was dead. But seven days were allowed in which to return an answer to the British demand. When this became known to the American people, there was a cry of rage against England. It was believed on all sides that England would have made no such demand had we not been embarrassed at home by a great civil war—that she would have been willing to discuss the merits of the question, to cite precedents, and to leave the matter to arbitration. All this was refused in the peremptory demand. Public opinion was divided, but not equally. The great majority wanted war at any cost. Seward believed—and he had many followers—that we could defeat England and put down the rebellion at the same time. Others drew a darker picture—the destruction of our seaboard cities, the annihilation of our navy, and the breaking of the blockade; the loss of trade, the vast expense of money and human life, and the coalition of England with the South! And yet many who saw this awful picture still raised their voice for war rather

than submission. Others said, "Let us yield now from necessity and be revenged hereafter." John W. Forney, one of the leading newspaper men in the country, said in the Philadelphia Press: "Let us swear, not only to ourselves, but to our children that come after us, to repay this greedy and insolent power with the retribution of a just and fearful vengeance." But most of the people refrained from the use of such extravagant language.

Meantime the momentous question had to be decided. The seven days had almost expired. Every eye was turned toward Washington, and at length the answer came. The government astonished the public and the world, disappointed the South, and averted a great war by quietly yielding the point—releasing the prisoners and disavowing the act of Wilkes.⁹⁷ Why this submission of a proud and mighty people, who believed themselves in the right? The answer is simple: We could not then afford another great war. The decision probably saved the life of the nation, and the nineteenth century can furnish few greater strokes of statesmanship. It was chiefly the work of one great soul, the ablest genius of his generation—Abraham Lincoln.

The consensus of European opinion on the Trent Affair was favorable to the British view; and this was practically the view taken by Mr. Seward in his elaborate answer to Lord Lyons. Seward acknowledged that Wilkes had committed an error, but declared that he had acted with the single view of serving his country, and without the slightest intention of offending the British flag. Great Britain was

⁹⁷ Mason and Slidell proceeded to Europe, but they accomplished nothing. They received no public welcome in London. The *London Times* said, "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."



1793—JOHN SLIDELL—1871.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative, in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

wholly in the wrong in working herself into a war fever without waiting for a word of explanation or asking if we meant to offend her, in sending an ultimatum, a demand for immediate redress, while mobilizing armies, and in refusing to discuss the merits of the subject at all.

NOTES

The Writ of Habeas Corpus.—In May, 1861, a serious dispute arose between the President and Chief Justice Taney concerning the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus. The Constitution provides that the writ may be suspended only in case of rebellion or invasion, but by whom is not stated. President Lincoln took the responsibility of suspending the writ, and caused the arrest of one John Merriman, for recruiting a Confederate force in Maryland, and imprisoned him at Fort McHenry. Merriman applied to the chief justice for a writ of Habeas Corpus and Mr. Taney issued it, on the ground that Congress only had the right to suspend the writ. But President Lincoln refused to be bound by the decision of the chief justice, and applied for the opinion of his attorney-general, Mr. Bates, who sustained the President. The Constitution, interpreted by the correct principles of political science, could not deny to the President the power of suspension of this writ, as Congress might not be in session at a time of sudden invasion, and on the President would devolve the responsibility of maintaining public order.

Belligerent Rights.—This matter was settled by the battle of Bull Run. President Lincoln had stated in his blockade proclamation that Confederate privateers when captured would be treated as pirates. Early in June the privateer *Savannah* was captured by the United States war vessel *Perry*, and the crew were taken to New York City and lodged in jail for trial. But soon after Bull Run, President Davis put some of the prisoners taken in that battle in chains, and sent word to the authorities at Washington that he would deal with them in the same manner as the United States government should deal with the crew of the *Savannah*. This led Mr. Lincoln to recede from his position, and the crew were exchanged as prisoners of war. From this time the United States, in practice, though not in theory, accorded belligerent rights to the South.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE CIVIL WAR—THE FIRST YEAR'S CONFLICT

THE Federal disaster at Bull Run was better than a victory for the North, for it roused the whole people to a sense of the magnitude of the task before them. It led hundreds of thousands of determined men to leave their homes and take up arms in defense of the Union; while the South was led by its victory to a false sense of security, to a belief that secession had succeeded, and that the war was practically over. The uprising of the North was on a grand scale. Every city, village, and hamlet was astir with martial activity, and within a few months after Bull Run more than half a million men had joined the northern armies.⁹⁸ These were stationed at various points along the border line, from the coast of Virginia to the plains of Kansas. The largest army was that before Washington, and the young leader who had won the admiration of the country in the mountains of western Virginia was called to its command. McClellan took control the last week in July, leaving General W. S. Rosecrans at the head of the forces in West Virginia. General John C. Frémont was appointed to the military district of the West, and he reached his headquarters at St. Louis near the close of July. General Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame was

⁹⁸ The December reports of the secretaries of war and the navy show that there were at that time in the service of the government 640,637 volunteers, 20,334 regulars, and 22,000 marines.

placed in command at Louisville, and General Benjamin M. Prentiss at Cairo. These commands were all changed within a year or two, as we shall notice in the course of the narrative.

The preparations for war were less vigorous at this time in the South than in the North. The Confederate president, who did not share the belief of his countrymen that Bull Run had ended the war, employed all his personal and official influence to awaken the people to the belief that a long and bloody war was before them. At the beginning of July the South had 112,000 men in the field, stationed chiefly in Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and southern Missouri. On the 8th of August the Confederate Congress, led by Mr. Davis, authorized the enlistment of 400,000 men for three years, and the work of raising and organizing this force continued through the autumn and winter; but there was no such universal, spontaneous movement as characterized the North, and at the close of the year 1861 scarcely one fourth of this number had been raised.

In the matter of army equipment the South was at first fairly well supplied, owing partly to the thoughtful foresight of Mr. Floyd, Mr. Buchanan's secretary of war, who, in apparent anticipation of war between the sections, had removed great numbers of muskets from northern to southern arsenals. The seizure of Harpers Ferry and Norfolk and the muskets captured at Bull Run were of great service to the southern armies. The North, though badly armed at first, began at once the manufacture of arms and other munitions of war on a large scale, and after the first year of the war there was an adequate supply for all demands. The Confederates also set about manufacturing powder and arms, but the supply was never adequate, and the south-

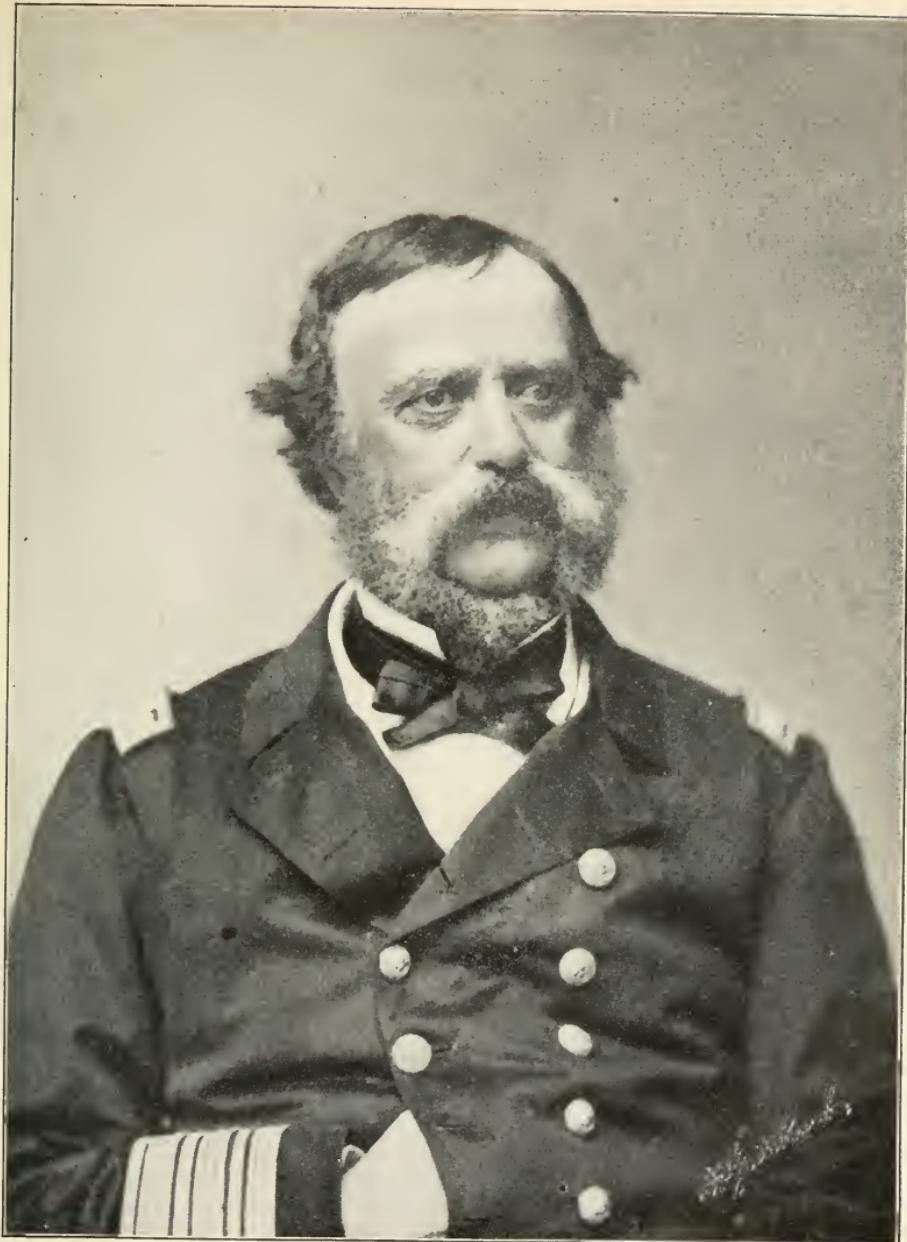
ern cause suffered constantly from this defect. For some months after Bull Run and Wilson's Creek there was no battle or military movement of importance; we turn therefore to a notice of

THE FIRST NAVAL EXPEDITIONS

At a notable gathering of the European powers at Paris in the spring of 1856 it was decided, among other things, that privateering be abolished. The United States was requested to join in this agreement, but it refused. A few months later, however, the United States government offered to accept the Paris agreement, if the powers would add another article exempting all private property from capture by an enemy at sea. But to this they refused to agree. Had the United States foreseen the fearful retribution that would be visited upon it within the coming decade on account of the first refusal, there is little doubt that the original agreement would have been accepted.

One of the first acts of the Confederate president was to authorize privateering—the preying of Confederate cruisers on the merchant marine of the United States. This was a vital spot at which the South could strike without fear of retaliation, for the wealth of the South in shipping could be rated at zero. Confederate privateering was begun early in the struggle, and it was partly to intercept the blockade runners that the first Federal naval expeditions along the Atlantic coast were undertaken.

On the 26th of August, 1861, General B. F. Butler embarked in a small improvised fleet from Fortress Monroe for Hatteras Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina. Two days later the fleet was throwing shells into the newly built forts, Clark and Hatteras, at an opening of Pamlico Sound,



1803—SAMUEL FRANCIS DUPONT—1865.

1865.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

and in twenty-four hours both forts had surrendered, with nearly seven hundred men, a thousand stand of arms, and thirty-five cannon.

A more pretentious expedition was that of General Ambrose E. Burnside, who sailed from Fortress Monroe in January, 1862.⁹⁹ His fleet numbered eighty vessels, large and small, mounting ninety-four guns, and bearing an army of twelve thousand men; the naval commander was Commodore L. M. Goldsborough. The destination was the eastern coast of North Carolina, where at Hatteras Inlet the small force left by Butler some months before still held its ground. The object of the expedition was to blockade and gain possession of Pamlico Sound and the adjoining coast. The fleet arrived, crossed the bar into Pamlico Sound, and proceeded northward to Roanoke Island, which lies between Albemarle and Pamlico sounds. The Confederate forces on this island, about three thousand strong, were in command of Henry A. Wise, whom we have met as governor of Virginia, at the time of the execution of John Brown. The Union fleet landed seventy-five hundred troops on the island on the evening of February 6. Next morning they floundered through marsh and bog till they reached the enemy's breastworks, which, after firing several volleys, they scaled in one impetuous rush, making prisoners of the whole force of the enemy. This was a victory of much importance, as Roanoke Island stood at the gateway of both great sounds east of the main coast of North Carolina.

Burnside gave his army a few days' rest; and then, leaving an adequate force to hold the island, he set out for new

⁹⁹ See Burnside's account in "Battles and Leaders," Vol. I, p. 660 sq.

victories. He determined on the capture of New Berne, a little city on the Neuse River which flows into Pamlico Sound, and next to Wilmington the most important seaport on the North Carolina coast. The capture was effected after a dreary march through the mud, and a sharp, decisive battle.

Still another important victory was to be scored by this army. Soon after the capture of New Berne, Burnside sent General Parke against Fort Macon, forty miles to the southeast on the coast. Fort Macon was an old and strong stone fort, and had been the property of the Union. Parke demanded a surrender, and when this was refused, he trained his guns upon the works and bombarded them for one day, when the fort, with its contents, including its five hundred brave defenders, was delivered into his hands. The Burnside expedition was a very successful one, and the coast of North Carolina was held to the end of the war by the Union armies. Burnside, however, was ordered northward in midsummer, 1862, to join the Army of the Potomac under McClellan.

One more successful naval expedition belonged to this period of the war. Some time before the expedition of Burnside a fleet of fifty ships left Hampton Roads under Admiral S. F. Dupont.¹⁰⁰ General Thomas W. Sherman had command of the land force, some twelve thousand men. The commanders of the vessels were ignorant of their destination; but each had sealed orders to be opened at sea in case the fleet became scattered. When they were

¹⁰⁰ At the opening of the Civil War the highest rank in the navy was captain. In July, 1862, Congress created several rear admirals, of whom Dupont was one.

off Cape Hatteras a tempest swept the sea, and the fleet was soon scattered far and wide. The sealed orders were then opened and each commander discovered that he was going to Port Royal, on the coast of South Carolina between Charleston and Savannah. Several of the vessels were lost or disabled. The rest met at the designated place early in November. The sound on which Port Royal is situated is almost shut off from the open sea by Hilton Head Island and Phillips Island, separated by a narrow channel. The Confederate commander was General T. F. Drayton, whose brother, Captain Percival Drayton, commanded a vessel in Dupont's approaching fleet.¹⁰¹ A small fleet within the sound was commanded by Commodore Tatnall, a veteran of the War of 1812 and of the Mexican War, and late of the United States Navy.

The cannonading, which began on November 7, was very heavy, and the roar was distinctly heard at Fernandina, seventy miles away. Within six hours both forts were silenced, the Confederates fled, and the stars and stripes were hoisted over the ruined walls. Tatnall set fire to his fleet and escaped, leaving the harbor of Port Royal in the possession of Dupont and Sherman. Thus another important harbor came under the control of the government. This victory, with those of Butler and Burnside above mentioned, was of great value to the Union cause. They greatly revived the spirit of the northern people after the disasters of Bull Run and Wilson's Creek; they had a salutary moral effect on Europe; they rendered the blockade effective almost throughout the entire coast from Virginia

¹⁰¹ There were various other instances where brother fought against brother in the Civil War.

to Florida, and they furnished admirable bases for future operations during the war.¹⁰²

THE DUEL OF THE IRONCLADS

The most famous of all naval duels, and one of the most important in the world's history, was that between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* at Hampton Roads on Sunday, March 9, 1862. But four years before this time France had built the first ironclad; England soon followed her lead and built two, and these three alone existed at the opening of the Civil War. But none of these had come into action, and it was left for the United States, in its unnatural contest with itself, to furnish the world with the first battle between ironclads.

On abandoning the navy yard near Norfolk in April, 1861, the Union forces burned what was combustible, including the steam frigate *Merrimac*. The vessel when partially consumed sank beneath the waves. A few months later the Confederates raised it and converted it into an ironclad. The work progressed for many months, until March 8, 1862, when this new ironbound monster, now called the *Virginia*, steamed down the Elizabeth River toward Hampton Roads, where lay at anchor several of the finest United States warships.

Meanwhile the Lincoln administration, knowing of the building of the *Merrimac*, was preparing to meet her with a vessel of her own class. A contract for an ironclad was made with John Ericsson, the Swedish inventor. Ericsson ignored the French and English models and built a vessel on a plan of his own invention. Day and night the work was pushed at the Brooklyn shipyard, and the new iron-

¹⁰² "Battles and Leaders," Vol. I, p. 682.



1818—JOHN LORIMER WORDEN—1897.

1887.

From an original photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D. C.

clad, named the *Monitor*, was finished almost at the same hour as was the *Merrimac*. But she had much further to go, and the *Merrimac*, under Captain Buchanan, reached the scene of action some hours in advance of the *Monitor*; and memorable hours they were in American naval history.

The *Merrimac* steamed slowly up the harbor toward Newport News on that calm afternoon of March 8, on her mission of destruction. When she came within three quarters of a mile the *Congress*, a fine frigate of fifty guns, opened fire on her, as did also the *Cumberland*, a sloop of thirty guns; but the strange-looking monster held her peace. At length, when she came within easy range, she fired into the *Cumberland* with fearful effect, then she raked the *Congress* with a broadside. After this, steering direct for the *Cumberland*, she rammed that vessel, and the impact stove in her side, making a hole "wide enough to drive in a horse and cart." The *Cumberland* filled rapidly with water, but the gallant crew kept working their guns to the last. The vessel sank with a final roar, and the mast, still protruding above the water, marked with its fluttering pennant the burial place of a crew as brave as any that ever died in their country's cause. For an hour longer the *Congress* continued the struggle, when she surrendered; and the Confederates burned her in the evening. During this contest the shore batteries at Newport News poured volley after volley into the *Merrimac*, but neither their shots nor those from the vessels seemed to affect the iron pachyderm. The *Minnesota*, seeing the distress of her unfortunate sisters, had steamed down the channel to take part in the battle, but she ran aground and stuck fast. Here she lay helpless in the middle of the channel and might have become an easy prey to the *Merrimac*. But it was late in the

afternoon, and the captain of the *Merrimac* decided to wait till the following morning to complete his destructive work. The delay was fatal.

The news of this fearful day's work was flashed northward, and it created consternation. Mr. Lincoln held a Cabinet meeting to discuss the new terror.

"The *Merrimac*," said Secretary Stanton, "will change the whole character of the war; she will destroy, *seriatim*, every naval vessel; she will lay all the cities on the sea coast under contribution." The greatest anxiety prevailed in government circles; but the next day brought different news.

On that night the *Monitor* arrived from New York, commanded by Lieutenant John L. Worden. Steaming up the mouth of the James by the light of the burning *Congress*, she hove to near the grounded *Minnesota* and waited for the morning. Early in the morning the *Merrimac* stood for the *Minnesota* and opened fire—but here was the new enemy to deal with. The *Monitor* instantly threw herself before the *Minnesota* and engaged the *Merrimac*. The two vessels were alike only in being ironclads. The *Merrimac* was a clumsy, unwieldy vessel of thirty-five hundred tons, and carried eight heavy guns and seven small ones. She was aptly described as "a huge, half-submerged crocodile." The *Monitor* was a small vessel of but nine hundred tons and carried two eleven-inch Dahlgren guns in a revolving turret, twenty feet in diameter, and gave the appearance of "a cheese box on a raft." It seemed like the fight of a pygmy and a giant.

For several hours these two vessels fought like demons, sometimes but a few yards apart. The *Merrimac* attempted to ram her antagonist, but the *Monitor* skillfully avoided the

blow and escaped injury. One double shot from the *Monitor* forced in the sides of the *Merrimac* several inches, knocking the crew off their feet with the concussion and causing every one to bleed from the nose or the ears.¹⁰³ At length, when the ships were but ten yards apart, a shell from the *Merrimac* struck the pilot house of the *Monitor* and exploded directly over the sight-hole. Commander Worden, who was standing just back of this spot, was stunned and his eyes were utterly blinded with burning powder. He then ordered his vessel to retire that the extent of the injury to the pilot house might be ascertained. The *Merrimac* then steamed back to Norfolk, and the battle was ended. The fight was terrific and grandly picturesque, but there was no loss of life, and only a few were wounded on the *Merrimac*, and but one, Lieutenant Worden, on the *Monitor*. The battle was a draw; but in its effects it must be regarded as a victory for the *Monitor*, for the *Minnesota* and the other Union vessels were saved, and the power of the *Merrimac* was destroyed, and two months later, when the Confederates abandoned Norfolk, she was burned.¹⁰⁴

This first fight of ironclads had the effect of revolutionizing naval warfare throughout the world. All the navies of the world were composed of wooden vessels, and here in Virginia waters it was demonstrated that no wooden ship could stand before an ironclad. The day of the "ship of the line" or the "oak leviathan" was over from this hour. "Whereas," said the *London Times*, "we had one hundred and forty-nine first-class warships, we have now two. . . .

¹⁰³ "Battles and Leaders," Vol. I, p. 702.

¹⁰⁴ The *Monitor* was wrecked the following December off Cape Hatteras, and sank with nine of her crew. Lieutenant Worden was carried to Washington for treatment. He recovered his eyesight and was soon back in the navy; he was afterward made a rear admiral.

There is not now a ship in the English navy apart from these two that it would not be madness to trust to an engagement with that little *Monitor*." Every maritime power in the world began from this date to reconstruct its navy on the basis of the ironclad.

OPERATIONS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

The North had expected to hear ere this of some notable achievement of the Army of the Potomac; but McClellan was still unready, and while he continued his preparations various movements took place in the great central valley of the continent. The people of the upper Mississippi Valley had a twofold reason for rising against the rebellion of the South. First, they would save the Union, and second, they would save the river. Their second reason was partly commercial and partly sentimental. They could not endure the thought of this great artery of trade, this opening to the world's markets for all their products, this their own majestic, beloved river—they could not endure its flowing for a thousand miles through a foreign land. To prevent such a condition the men of the West rose in arms to save the Union.

The comprehensive, twofold object of the Union armies in 1862 was to take the Confederate capital and to open the Mississippi River. To accomplish these ends it was important that the forces east and west work in harmony, and to do this they must be directed by one brain, by a commander in chief. But here the government was at a loss. General Scott had long passed the prime of manhood, and was in no way fitted for the great task. For a short time McClellan was made commander in chief, and then W. H.



1806—ANDREW HULL FOOTE—1863.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the possession of Frederick H. Meserve,
New York.

Halleck;¹⁰⁵ but both proved unsatisfactory, and, until the last year of the war, the armies east and west of the mountains acted, in a great measure, separately, without any effective common commanding authority, save that of the President, who laid no claim to military knowledge.

So numerous were the battles and skirmishes in the West, as well as in the East, that we must leave many of the minor ones unnoticed, and give our attention to the larger movements which contributed most to the final outcome of the war. We left two small opposing armies in southern Missouri after the Battle of Wilson's Creek in August, 1861. For many months thereafter no important movement occurred in that section. John C. Frémont had been put in command of the department that included Missouri, and his headquarters were at St. Louis. But ere long he was charged with incompetency and flagrant misuse of his authority—with corruption in giving out contracts, with bearing himself like an Oriental nabob, with keeping men waiting for days to see him on pressing business of the department, with throwing men into prison without a cause, and with general incompetence. These charges were brought before the President, who, investigating them with the utmost care, found them to be true, and Frémont was removed. What a comment on the narrow escape of the country in electing James Buchanan President instead of Frémont in 1856!

Before Frémont's removal he had issued a proclamation, for the purpose, as some thought, of calling public attention from the charges against him, confiscating the property and setting free the slaves of all persons in Missouri

¹⁰⁵ Halleck was nominal commander in chief from July, 1862, till March, 1864.

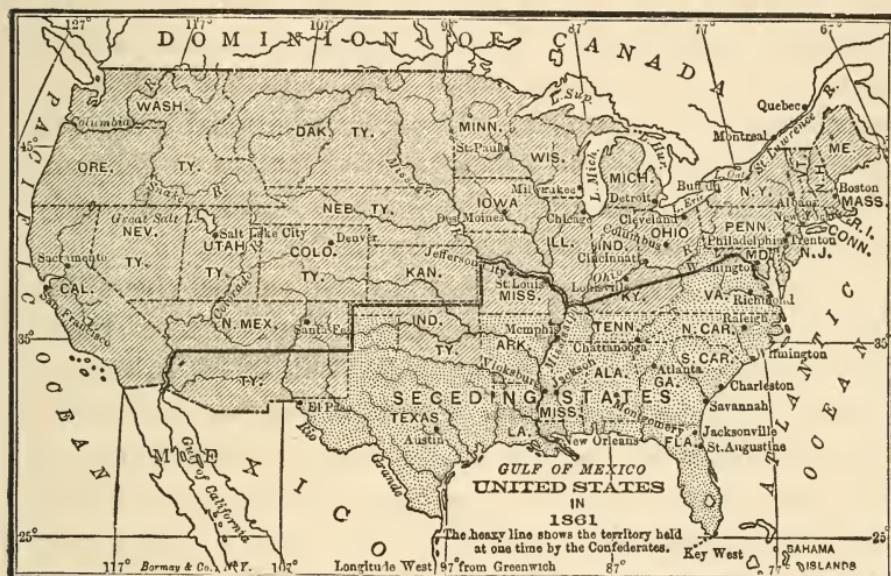
who had taken up arms against the government, or who should do so in the future. This was by far the most radical move that had yet been made against the slaveholder. When Mr. Lincoln heard of it he saw at a glance that the order, if sustained by him, would seriously impair the Union cause in Kentucky. He accordingly ordered Frémont to modify his proclamation so as to conform to the recent Confiscation act of Congress.

This incident is memorable from the fact that it caused the first serious disaffection in the Republican party. A great many of the radical antislavery members of the party, including such leaders as Charles Sumner, openly favored Frémont. In the Middle West, especially in Ohio, Lincoln was denounced most vigorously, and was accused of trying to suppress Frémont because he feared him as a rival for the presidency. When a little later Lincoln removed Frémont from his command, the radicals, not knowing the true cause, were furious. But the President preserved his usual calm, and time has fully vindicated his course.

At the beginning of the year 1862 the Confederates held the southern part of Kentucky, the line between the opposing forces passing through Mill Springs, Bowling Green, Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Columbus on the Mississippi. To break this line and push it farther south, and if possible to rescue the Unionists of eastern Tennessee, was the first object of the Federal armies. Accordingly General W. H. Halleck, who now commanded in the West, sent General George H. Thomas¹⁰⁶ with some ten thousand men to open a way. Thomas met a force of five or six thousand men under General George B. Crittenden, a brother

¹⁰⁶ It was Buell who sent Thomas, but Buell was at this time subject to the orders of Halleck.

of the Union general, Thomas S. Crittenden,¹⁰⁷ at Mill Springs, Kentucky, and a desperate battle ensued. The Confederates fought bravely during the day, but they were completely routed, and at nightfall they fled toward Nashville. Meantime Colonel James A. Garfield had driven General Marshall from the mountainous region along the Virginia border. The way was now open to eastern Ten-



nessee; but owing to the scarcity of provisions and the badness of the roads, the project was given up, and Thomas rejoined Buell.

Kentucky was now occupied by three armies, with another at Cairo, Ill., hovering on its border and about to enter the state. General Albert Sidney Johnston, then reputed the ablest commander of the South, held an army at Bowling Green, and General Leonidas Polk, the Episcopal bishop of

¹⁰⁷ These two brothers, who took opposite sides in the war, were sons of the famous Kentucky senator, J. J. Crittenden.

Louisiana, who was also a soldier and a graduate of West Point, commanded a force at Columbus. Opposed to these were a Union army at Louisville under General Don Carlos Buell¹⁰⁸ and the army at Cairo under General U. S. Grant.

General Grant had seized Paducah in Kentucky, and had made in the preceding autumn an expedition down the Mississippi to Belmont, Missouri, where he had a sharp fight with General Pillow. Grant bore down on the Confederate position, captured the camp, and drove the enemy to the bank of the river. But General Polk, who held Columbus, across the river from Belmont, sent an additional force, and also threw shells from the heights of Columbus to Belmont. The result was that Grant and his forces fled precipitately to their transports and returned to Cairo.

Western Kentucky is traversed by two parallel rivers that empty into the Ohio near together. The larger of these, the Tennessee, takes its rise in the foothills of the Alleghany Mountains in southwestern Virginia, makes a grand detour southward into northern Alabama, crosses the state of Tennessee twice, and flows into the Ohio near its confluence with the Mississippi. The Cumberland, much smaller than the Tennessee, rises in eastern Kentucky, sweeps in a great curve through northern Tennessee, and flows northward into the Ohio within a few miles of the mouth of the Ten-

¹⁰⁸ General Anderson, who was first in command at Louisville, was relieved, owing to failing health, by General William Tecumseh Sherman. Sherman stated to some Cabinet officers that it would require two hundred thousand men to clear Kentucky of the enemy. So extravagant seemed this statement that Sherman was considered insane, and was so characterized in the newspapers throughout the country. He was relieved by Buell in November, 1861. His statement evinced his foresight and judgment, as events proved. See McClure's "Lincoln and Men of War Times."

nessee. These two rivers, which were navigable for hundreds of miles, furnished the southern armies with invaluable means of transportation, and the Union commanders conceived the idea that the evacuation of Kentucky could best be forced by operating up these two rivers.

General A. S. Johnston was now the commander of all the Confederate armies west of the mountains, except in the extreme South. He saw too late that while the Mississippi had been strongly guarded by heavy batteries—at Columbus, Island No. 10, Memphis, and Vicksburg—the two inland rivers had been neglected. Two small forts, Henry and Hieman, on the Tennessee, were now quickly strengthened, and also a far more formidable one on the Cumberland—Fort Donelson. In order to protect Nashville, Johnston, at the beginning of February, made the fatal blunder of dividing his force of thirty thousand men, placing fourteen thousand in Kentucky to watch Buell and sending sixteen thousand to Fort Donelson. Early in February General Grant captured Forts Henry and Hieman, most of their garrisons having fled to Fort Donelson.

Fort Donelson at this time was the scene of great excitement. The garrison knew that the Union army had invested Fort Henry, twelve miles across the country on the Tennessee. They knew also that it was only a matter of a few days till their own fort would be surrounded by gleaming bayonets and frowning cannon. Fort Donelson was admirably situated on a plateau a hundred feet above the river, and covered about a hundred acres. It had several heavy guns, and was held by eighteen thousand men under command of General John B. Floyd, late secretary of war in the Cabinet of Buchanan. Beneath the bluff on the river bank

were two powerful batteries commanding the approach of the river.

While Flag Officer Foote with his seven gunboats steamed up the Cumberland, Grant was busy moving his army from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson. His army, in two divisions, under command of General John A. McClernand, the Illinois congressman, a lawyer and not a soldier by profession, and General Charles F. Smith of the regular army, began closing in around the doomed fort. But before the battle began General Lew Wallace, the future author of "Ben Hur," arrived from Fort Henry with a third division. Pickets were thrown forward, and the sharpshooters hunted their holes among the rocks and trees.¹⁰⁹ The chief action of the day, aside from the continuous firing of artillery, was an assault on some rifle pits on a hillside, ordered by McClernand. Colonel Morrison, with an Illinois brigade, led the charge, and a braver one never was made during the war. The men surged up the hill amid a tempest of bullets and were driven back, leaving many strewed along the hillside. Again, and still again, they dashed toward the rifle pits, picking their way among dead and dying comrades, until at last, the leaves on the hillside being set on fire, they sullenly retreated, and their "souls were riven with the shrieks of their wounded comrades, whom the flames crept down upon and smothered and charred where they lay."¹¹⁰

Thus ended the 13th of February. There had been no general engagement. Foote arrived that night with his seven gunboats, four of them ironclads. Next day his guns were trained on the batteries on the river bank. The Confederate reply was terrific. Foote was severely wounded;

¹⁰⁹ See "Battles and Leaders," Vol. I, p. 407.

¹¹⁰ Lew Wallace in "Battles and Leaders," Vol. I, p. 412.

two of his boats were disabled, one being struck fifty-nine times, and drifted helpless down the stream, and the others followed until they were beyond the range of the enemy's guns. That night the two armies lay crouching so near together that neither dared light fires. The Confederates were cheered at the defeat of the gunboats and at their success of the day before; but the next day would tell the story.

Grant's army, including those on guard, was about twenty-seven thousand strong, exceeding that of the enemy by at least six thousand.¹¹¹ Floyd knew this, and in consultation with his two chief lieutenants, Pillow and Buckner, he decided to attack the Union right at dawn and hurl it upon the center, and thus to open a way out to the road that leads to Nashville. The night was spent in preparing for this, and in the early morning Pillow with ten thousand men fell upon McCleernand, and Buckner soon joined him with an additional force. For some hours the roar of the battle was tremendous. Toward noon many of McCleernand's men ran short of powder and he was forced to recede from his position. Pillow seems then to have lost his head. He felt that the whole Union army was defeated, and though the road to Nashville was open, the Confederates made no attempt to escape. Just then General Grant rode upon the scene. He had been absent all the morning down the river consulting with Foote, not knowing that the enemy had planned an escape. This moment, says Lew Wallace,¹¹² was the crisis in the life of Grant. Had he decided other than he did, the history of his life would have closed at Donelson. Hearing the disastrous news, his face flushed for a moment; he crushed some papers in his hand. Next instant he was

¹¹¹ Livermore's "Numbers and Losses of the Civil War," p. 78.

¹¹² "Battles and Leaders," Vol. I, p. 416.

calm, and said in his quiet, ordinary tone, to McCleernand and Wallace, "Gentlemen, the position on the right must be retaken." Then he galloped away to General Smith. In a short time the Union lines were in motion. General Smith made a grand assault on the enemy's outworks and rifle pits. When his lines hesitated, Smith waved his cap on the point of his sword and rode in front, up the hill, in the hottest fire of the enemy, toward the rifle pits—and they were carried. At the same moment Lew Wallace was leading his division up another slope with equal gallantry. Here again the Confederates fled within the fort, and the road to Nashville was open to them no longer. Furthermore, Smith held a position from which he could shell the fort on the inside, and nothing was left to the enemy but surrender or slaughter on the morrow.

A council was held by Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner. Buckner, who was the ablest soldier of the three, declared that he could not hold his position for half an hour in the morning. The situation was hopeless. Floyd was under indictment at Washington for maladministration in the Buchanan Cabinet. He declared that he must not be taken, and that he would escape on two little boats that were to arrive from Nashville in the morning. He passed the command to Pillow, and Pillow, declaring that he too would escape, passed it on to Buckner. Floyd and Pillow with fifteen hundred men made good their escape; so did Colonel Forrest, the cavalry leader. He led his cavalry, some eight hundred strong, along the river bank and reported some days later at Nashville.

In the early morning Buckner sent a note to Grant offering to capitulate. The answer is well known. Grant demanded "Unconditional surrender," and added, "I propose



1823—SIMON BOLIVAR BUCKNER.

1896.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

to move immediately upon your works." Buckner was too good a soldier to sacrifice his men to needless slaughter. He accepted the "ungenerous and unchivalrous terms," as he pronounced them, and surrendered Fort Donelson and the army, consisting of at least fourteen thousand men, with all its stores and ammunition. The Union loss was over twenty-eight hundred men.

The loss of Donelson and this gallant army was an irreparable blow to the South. The way was now open for the Federal armies to penetrate the heart of the western South. The reproach of the disaster fell on the shoulders of Albert Sidney Johnston, who had unwisely divided his army. This was the first great victory for either side in the war. The North was electrified by its grandeur and magnitude, and the eyes of the country were turned for the first time upon General Grant. His laconic "Unconditional surrender" caught the public fancy. He was a graduate of West Point, and had served through the Mexican War. After that he was stationed at Detroit, at Sacketts Harbor, and finally on the Pacific Coast, leaving his family in the East. In 1854 he resigned from the army and settled on a little farm owned by his wife near St. Louis. Here he hoed potatoes and hauled cord wood, but failed to earn a living. He tried the real estate business, and again failed. At length, deeply in debt, he applied for assistance to his aged father, who owned a leather store at Galena, Illinois. His life seemed hopelessly wrecked. He accepted a position in his father's store at a small salary, and here we find him at the outbreak of the war. The governor of Illinois placed Grant at the head of the Illinois volunteers. Next we hear of him at Cairo, at Belmont, at Donelson. Up to February 16, 1862, the name of Ulysses S. Grant was utterly unknown to the great world.

Now he became famous; and his rise in the next six years is the most extraordinary in the history of America.

On the minor movements of the armies and the petty disputes among the generals that followed Donelson we have no time to dwell. Suffice it to say that Polk abandoned Columbus, Kentucky, and A. S. Johnston left Bowling Green with a few thousand troops that he had retained. Buell advanced from Louisville and occupied Nashville, after its vast Confederate stores had been destroyed, while Grant's army was moving piecemeal farther south on the Tennessee. By the first of April Grant had an army of forty thousand at Pittsburg Landing. This was an obscure stopping place for boats in southern Tennessee, not far from the northern boundary of Mississippi; but the name means more now than a mere landing for river craft. The army was divided into six divisions, under the command, respectively, of McClelland, B. M. Prentiss, W. T. Sherman, Stephen A. Hurlburt, C. F. Smith, and Lew Wallace; but Smith being ill at Savannah, eight miles down the river, his command devolved upon W. H. L. Wallace. The President had in March limited the authority of McClellan to the Army of the Potomac, and Halleck was placed in superior command in the West, including the division of Buell, whom he now ordered to join Grant at Pittsburg Landing.¹¹³

The Confederate clans were gathering in great numbers at Corinth, Mississippi, some twenty miles southwest from Pittsburg Landing. Here had come Polk from Columbus, General Braxton Bragg from the far South, Beauregard from the East, and Albert Sidney Johnston, commander over

¹¹³ The mountain department, from Knoxville, Tennessee, to the boundary of McClellan's authority, was assigned to Frémont.

1796. Tennessee admitted to the Union.
1797. John Adams inaugurated President.
1798. Alien and sedition laws enacted. Navy department established.
- 1798-1799. Kentucky and Virginia resolutions.
- 1798-1800. Serious trouble with France.
1799. Dec. 14. Washington dies at Mt. Vernon.
1800. Overthrow of the Federal party.
Capital removed to Washington, D. C.
1801. Jefferson becomes President.
1802. Ohio joins the Union.
- 1801-1805. War with the Barbary States, North Africa.
1803. Purchase of Louisiana.
1804. Burr kills Hamilton in a duel.
- 1805-1807. Lewis and Clark expedition.
- 1806-1807. Burr's conspiracy, trial, and acquittal.
1807. Fulton succeeds with the steamboat.
June 22. The *Leopard* fires on the *Chesapeake*.
December. Jefferson's embargo enacted.
1808. Prohibition of the foreign slave trade.
1809. James Madison inaugurated President.
1811. Nov. 7. Battle of Tippecanoe.
1812. June 18. War declared against England.
Aug. 16. Hull surrenders Detroit.
Aug. 19. The *Constitution* defeats the *Guerrière*.
Oct. 13. Battle of Queenstown Heights.
1813. Sept. 10. Perry's victory on Lake Erie.
Oct. 5. Battle of the Thames.
Nov. 9. Battle of Talladega.
1814. July 25. Battle of Lundy's Lane.
Aug. 25. The British capture Washington.
Sept. 11. Battle of Plattsburg and defeat of the British on Lake Champlain.
December. Hartford Convention.
Dec. 24. Treaty of Ghent.
1815. Jan. 8. Battle of New Orleans.
America secures indemnity and treaties from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.
1816. Indiana admitted to the Union. Admission of Mississippi, 1817; of Illinois, 1818; of Alabama, 1819; of Maine, 1820; of Missouri, 1821.
1817. James Monroe becomes President.
1818. War with the Seminole Indians.

not yet arrived from Nashville, and Lew Wallace and his division were at Crump's Landing, five or six miles from the scene of the battle.

Grant hastened up the river, and when he arrived on the field he found a tremendous battle raging all along the Union front. He spent the day riding from one division commander to another, directing them and urging them to their utmost efforts. The heaviest attack of the morning fell upon the Union right under Sherman, and on the division of McCleernand which was next to that of Sherman. These divisions were composed for the most part of raw troops, but the superb bearing of the commanders inspired the men with confidence, and they fought like veterans. At various times during the day the whole Union front was pressed back, and in one of these movements Prentiss did not fall back with the rest, and he, with twenty-two hundred of his men, was captured by the enemy. On one occasion Hurlburt took a strong position and held it for five hours against the most terrific onslaughts of the enemy. The fighting raged part of the time around a little log church called Shiloh, which has given its name to the battle. Southern hopes were high that day. The fearful Confederate charge of the morning was sustained almost without cessation, and the battle raged till darkness overspread the valleys and the hills.

Whatever of victory there was at the close of this first day's fight at Shiloh belonged to the southern army. The Union army had been pressed back little by little for more than a mile, and now occupied a few hundred acres around the landing, while the ground and the tents which it had occupied the night before were in possession of the enemy; but the end had not yet come, and the weary legions of both



1818—PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD—1893.

From an original Brady negative in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

sides sank down for a few hours' rest, knowing that the final struggle would come on the morrow.

The Union army had been stunned and wounded, but not disabled. The losses on both sides had been exceedingly heavy, especially on the southern side, for it had lost its noble commander, Albert Sidney Johnston. About the middle of the afternoon, while riding amid the tempest of bullets cheering his men, he was struck by a Minié ball, and an artery of his thigh was severed. The wound was not a fatal one, and his life might have been saved; but the hero thought only of victory. He continued in the saddle, cheering his men above the din of battle, until his voice grew faint and his face grew deadly pale. Then he was lifted from his horse, but it was too late; in a few minutes he was dead.¹¹⁴ The command of the Confederate army then passed to Beauregard.

Had neither side been reënforced, the South would probably have won a signal victory on Monday. But early on Sunday night the thrilling news ran along the Union lines that Buell had arrived from Nashville. Lew Wallace was now also on the ground and ready for the next day's conflict. Wallace's troops and those of Buell, twenty-five thousand fresh troops, were to be hurled against the weary army of Beauregard in the morning. Beauregard looked longingly toward the west, hoping for the coming of General

¹¹⁴ The Federal general W. H. L. Wallace was also killed in this battle, and General Smith died a short time afterward at Savannah. The death of Johnston, it is believed by some, prevented the utter rout or capture of Grant's army on the night of the 6th. "Johnston's death was a tremendous catastrophe," wrote General Gibson, one of his subordinates. ". . . Sometimes the hopes of millions of people depend upon one head and one arm. The West perished with Albert Sidney Johnston, and the southern country followed." "Battles and Leaders," Vol. I, p. 568.

Van Dorn, who had an army in Arkansas and was marching with all speed to join him; but Van Dorn was still far away, and a week must elapse before the two armies could be united.

Before the rising of the sun on the morning of the 7th the two armies were again engaged in battle, but the contest was now an unequal one. Buell and Lew Wallace had come, but Van Dorn had not. Yet the Confederates fought with great valor, yielding their ground slowly, till an hour after noon, when Beauregard ordered a general retreat, and this was accomplished in good order. The army retired, battered and bleeding, to Corinth.¹¹⁵ The result of the battle was a Federal victory, but not a decisive one. The people of the North did not rejoice greatly over it, and General Grant, who had loomed into public favor so suddenly at Donelson, was now severely criticised for having left the army unprotected and for spending the night of the 5th away from the field. One result of the battle was the development of W. T. Sherman. Nothing was plainer than that he was the strongest of the division commanders. Several horses were shot under him, twice he was wounded, but his demeanor was so cool, so reassuring, and so inspiring that his men were spurred to their utmost effort. Born in Ohio in 1820, Sherman graduated from West Point, and served in the war against the Indians of the South, but resigned from the army and became a broker in California. Next we find him in Kansas as a practicing lawyer, and later he was superintendent of a military academy in Louisiana. He resigned the position on the secession of

¹¹⁵ The losses as given in "Battles and Leaders" are: Union, 1,754 killed, 8,408 wounded, and 2,885 captured or missing; Confederate, 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 missing.

that state, reentered the United States army and commanded a brigade at the battle of Bull Run. After Shiloh, his star rose steadily to the end of the war, when it outshone all others at the North, save that of Grant; and many believe that as a military genius he was superior to Grant.

The Federal victory at Pittsburg Landing was supported by another, a far more decisive one, in the capture of Island No. 10, some forty miles below Columbus, in a great bend of the Mississippi. The Confederates had fortified the island, and it was held by General McCall with seven thousand men and large army stores. Early in March, General John Pope was sent with a large army from Cairo against the Island. Flag-officer Foote was in command of the river squadron. After capturing New Madrid, Missouri, on the opposite shore, a terrible bombardment was opened in which they "threw three thousand shells and burned fifty tons of powder" with little effect. Next they cut a canal twelve miles long across the peninsula made by the bend of the river, so as to get the transports below the enemy's work, and forced the surrender of the island on the 7th of April, with its whole force and military stores. This loosened the grasp of the Confederacy on the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis.

Some weeks before this great double victory at Shiloh and Island No. 10, another desperate battle had been fought which resulted also in a Union victory. This occurred among the hills of Arkansas, and is known as the battle of Pea Ridge. After the battle of Wilson's Creek the preceding August, the operations in southern Missouri were disturbed on the one side by the removal of Frémont, and on the other by a dispute between the Confederate commanders, Price and McCulloch. At length General Samuel

R. Curtis was put in command of the Union forces west of the Mississippi, and General Earl Van Dorn of the Confederate forces. The two armies met in northern Arkansas. The Confederate forces, though outnumbering the enemy, became divided during the battle, and this fact, together with the death of General McCulloch, gave the victory to the army of Curtis, whose ablest subordinate was General Sigel. Van Dorn then led his forces eastward to join the main Confederate army at Corinth, but did not reach that point till after the battle of Shiloh. The status of Missouri on the subject of secession was settled at Pea Ridge. No longer was there any fear that the state would join the Confederacy. The battle of Pea Ridge was conspicuous in one respect—it was the only important battle of the war in which Indians played a part. In this battle some thirty-five hundred Indians under General Albert Pike fought on the Confederate side; but their methods of warfare differed so greatly from those of the white men that the aid was little felt.¹¹⁶

FARRAGUT AND NEW ORLEANS

To these four Union victories in the West within a few months (Donelson, Pea Ridge, Shiloh, and Island No. 10,—five, if we include that of Thomas at Mill Springs) another must be added, the most important of them all, the opening of the mouth of the Mississippi and the capture of the greatest seaport of the South. For the accomplishment of this great work, the country was indebted to David Glasgow Farragut, the ablest naval commander in the Civil

¹¹⁶ The strength and losses in this battle, as given in "Battles and Leaders," were: Union strength, 10,500; losses at Pea Ridge, 1,384 killed, wounded, and missing. Confederate strength, 16,200 (exclusive of Indians); losses about 1,300 killed, wounded, and missing.

War. Farragut had been in the naval service from childhood. As a boy of twelve years he had witnessed the terrible sea fight between the *Essex* and the two British vessels at Valparaiso, South America. He had been sent by Andrew Jackson to enforce the national laws at Charleston at the time of South Carolina's Nullification. He was a native of Tennessee, and every effort was made by his fellow southerners to induce him to join the secession forces; but he refused, with the well-known answer, "Mind what I tell you; you fellows will catch the devil before you get through with this business," and they never caught what he said more decisively than at New Orleans and Mobile. Farragut was now intrusted with the most important naval expedition of the war.

From the spring of 1861 there had been a few Federal vessels along the gulf coast for the purpose of enforcing the blockade; now an attempt was to be made to get control of the lower Mississippi, but no serious attempt to open the great mid-continent waterway was made till the spring of 1862. The object was to sever the Confederacy in twain, to cut off the supplies to the Confederate armies from Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana, and to get possession of the cannon foundries of New Orleans. General B. F. Butler was put in command of the land force, thirteen thousand strong, and the fleet of bomb vessels and frigates accompanying Farragut's squadron were commanded by Captain Porter. On the 16th of April, 1862, the fleet, composed of forty-seven armed vessels, eight of which were powerful sloops of war, had crossed the bar with the utmost difficulty at the mouth of the Mississippi, and was ready to begin operations.

The Confederates had heard of the coming fleet, and

had not been idle. Two powerful forts, Jackson and St. Philips, each garrisoned by about seven hundred men, guarded the river, one on either side, some seventy miles below New Orleans. These had been greatly strengthened, and they now mounted 126 heavy guns, and were commanded by General Johnson K. Duncan. The Confederates had also built ironclad gunboats, rams, and various river craft with which to defend their beloved city. The naval forces were under the control of Commander John K.



Mitchell. The bombardment of the two forts was begun on the morning of the 18th, and they answered with great fury. For five days and nights the earth shook with the artillery duel; the Union fleet in that period threw 16,800 shells. On the morning of the 24th, some hours before dawn, Farragut's memorable passage of the forts was accomplished.¹¹⁷ The scene of this passage of the forts has been pronounced one of indescribable grandeur by those who saw it. The burning of fire rafts, sent among the

¹¹⁷ A great chain that had been stretched across the river to prevent the passage had been broken on the 20th.



1801—DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT—1870.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

vessels, lit the heavens with a lurid glare, while the shells from the fleet, the forts, and the shore batteries, bursting in mid-air as they crossed each other's path, gave the appearance of a battle in the sky.¹¹⁸ A fire ship with a streaming blaze a hundred feet in the air floated against the flagship *Hartford* and set her on fire. Farragut, standing on the deck, remained unperturbed. He called on his men to do their duty, and while some put out the fire and saved the ship, others kept working the guns as if nothing had happened. Before the coming of day, the fleet had passed the forts; then came the encounter with the enemy's vessels above them. These were dispatched, one by one—destroyed, disabled, or driven away; and the proudest city of the South lay at the mercy of the Federal fleet. A few days later Fort Jackson surrendered to Commander Porter, and Fort St. Philips to General Butler.

New Orleans was under martial law, with General Mansfield Lovell in command. For weeks before the passing of the forts the city was gay, except that a minor strain ran through every song after the news came from Shiloh. But the city was defiant. One newspaper expressed the fear that the Yankee invaders would not come for the warm reception prepared for them. But here they were at last; here were the frowning cannon at the very gates, and here was the inflexible Farragut. Now all was changed; the city was seized with a panic of fear; ten thousand children ran screaming through the streets; the women sobbed and wailed and wrung their hands. Wild disorder and panic reigned everywhere. The thousands of cotton bales along the wharf were set on fire, and so were the boats, lest

¹¹⁸ See Admiral Porter's account in "Battles and Leaders," Vol. II, p. 47.

they fall into the hands of the enemy ; and the miles of flame set men and women weeping thirty miles away.¹¹⁹ Lovell fled with his army, leaving the city to its fate ; \$4,000,000 in specie were carried away. The crowds that remained howled and yelled with rage and despair, as they saw the last hope of defending the city disappear. Such was the condition of New Orleans when, on the first day of May, Butler with his army arrived up the river, took possession, and waved the flag of the Union over the historic city of the Creoles.

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

What we call the Public, or Public Opinion, is a gigantic personality with his likes and dislikes, his passions, his virtues, and his foibles. In our great Republic he is the universal master ; he elects our presidents and congresses, and shapes our legislation. This vast personage is long-suffering, but he may become angry or excited ; then he is dangerous. At heart he is honest and his motives are sincere ; he is usually wise, but now and then his judgment is sadly at fault—and yet he is absolute master, and none can dispute his sway. He may be trained, educated, persuaded, but never coerced. The strongest man cannot withstand or defy him, and no sane man would attempt it. It was this mighty giant, usually designated Public Opinion, that forced the battle of Bull Run. He grew impatient and demanded that a battle be fought, against the judgment of the military leaders. The result was disastrous, as we have seen, and the Giant, half ashamed of what he had done, remained quiet for some months. Meantime he

¹¹⁹ See description by George W. Cable in "Battles and Leaders," Vol. II, p. 14 sq.

fondled his newly-found hero—for at times he is like a half-grown child; he must have his toys, his heroes, and his villains, whom he changes at will.

George Brinton McClellan was then the popular hero. General Scott had long passed the meridian of his powers, and he failed to grasp the magnitude of the situation. McClellan was young, handsome, valiant. He was thoroughly trained; he had been graduated at West Point and had served in Mexico; he had studied war in the Crimea but a few years before, and above all he had just completed a bold, successful campaign in western Virginia. The public was thoroughly pleased when, just after Bull Run, Mr. Lincoln called McClellan to take command of the Army of the Potomac. McClellan had his shortcomings, as events proved; but in one respect he was very strong. He lacked the bulldog tenacity of Grant, the strategy of Sherman, the impetuous dash of Stonewall Jackson; but as a military organizer he was superior to them all. When he took control of the army it was a great disorganized mass, untrained, discouraged, but possessing the one supreme virtue—patriotism. In four months McClellan had made of this crude mass a trained, disciplined, and organized army equal to any that ever trod American soil. No such work had been done on this side of the Atlantic since the days of Steuben at Valley Forge. “Had there been no McClellan,” said General Meade in after years, “there could have been no Grant; the army made no essential improvement under any of his successors.”

The summer of 1861 passed, and the autumn. The star of McClellan was still rising; on the 1st of November the aged Scott was retired on full pay, and McClellan was made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States.

This again pleased the public; but it wrought some change in the plans of operation, and caused further delay, and at length McClellan decided that it would be unwise to undertake a winter campaign in the Virginia mud. Meantime a new disaster, known as the battle of Ball's Bluff, played on the feelings of the public.

This affair took place on October 21, exactly three months after Bull Run. A small Confederate force under Colonel Evans was posted at Leesburg, near the Potomac above Washington, and McClellan directed General Charles P. Stone to keep a lookout on Leesburg. Stone sent Colonel Devens with eight hundred men to destroy a camp near Leesburg. Devens was unexpectedly attacked near the rocky heights called Ball's Bluff. Colonel E. D. Baker, United States senator from Oregon, was sent across the Potomac to his assistance with a thousand men. The fight was sharp and murderous. The Unionists were beaten and driven down the bluff, where many were shot by the pursuing enemy, made prisoners, or drowned in attempting to cross the river. At least a thousand brave men were lost. Colonel Baker, who had ranked Devens, had charge of the battle; his decision to fight then and there was very unmilitary, and he paid the penalty with his life. The public was shocked at this disaster. Who caused it? The blame must be fixed on some one, for the Giant demanded a victim to appease his wrath. Colonel Baker was the chief blunderer; but he was lying dead with a bullet in his brain. McClellan and Stone may have been somewhat careless; but McClellan was still the popular idol, too sacred to be assailed, and the popular wrath fell on Stone. The administration could not ignore the clamor for a victim, and Stone was sacrificed. He was arrested and imprisoned for six



1811—EDWARD DICKENSON BAKER—1861.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the possession of Frederick H. Meserve,
New York.

months, and then released without a vindication or a trial; but history has pronounced him blameless. So much for the tyranny of Public Opinion. This great Master is sometimes a tyrant, and he makes blunders; but we must overlook all that, for he always means well, and in this great government it would be utterly impossible to get along without him.

General McClellan was doubtless right in deciding not to undertake a midwinter campaign, but he erred in other respects. He constantly magnified the power of the enemy and underestimated his own. He believed that Johnston had 150,000 men at Manassas, when in fact he had but little over one third of that number. At length the public became impatient with the long inaction; so with the administration. President Lincoln ordered a general advance for the 22d of February; but the army was not ready and did not move. Then McClellan disclosed his latest plan, viz.: to transfer his army to the mouth of the James and move upon Richmond from the peninsula formed by the James and York rivers. The President did not approve of this; but at a council of generals he was overruled, and he yielded the point. Now came word that Johnston had retired from Manassas to the banks of the Rappahannock, then to the Rapidan, and this caused a further change of plans and more delay. At about the same time McClellan was relieved of the duties of commander in chief, and his authority was confined again to the Army of the Potomac. Now he will certainly move, thought every one; but he continued to organize and drill. Perhaps he was doing the very best thing, but he was at fault in presuming too much on the public patience. The people could not understand why the army must be held so long in idleness, and the general should

not have lost sight of the fact that he was responsible to them. He might have done something to quiet public feeling, but he ignored it, and suffered the penalty—his popularity waned during the winter.

But McClellan was not alone to blame. President Lincoln was at fault in not giving McClellan a free hand. When he approved the general's plan of operating from the peninsula, he waited nearly a month before giving the order to furnish transportation for the army. Mr. Lincoln's interference arose partly, as he acknowledged, from "pressure," that is, pressure from the politicians who knew nothing of military affairs. He should have given his general full control of the army or asked his resignation.

The reader should remember that the change in the plan of operation was an important one. Manassas was but thirty miles across the country from Washington, while the "peninsula" was two hundred miles away. Fortress Monroe, near which the famous duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* had taken place a few weeks before, was at the apex, and was to be the base of the operations. At length, on the 17th of March, the great movement was begun. Four hundred vessels of all sizes were employed, and in something over three weeks the army of 121,000 men, 15,000 horses and mules, with wagons and other munitions in like proportion, was safely landed at Fortress Monroe. For economy and celerity of movement the expedition was said to be "without a parallel on record." At last McClellan was ready to begin operations. The objective point was Richmond, seventy-five miles up the James. The army began its march up the peninsula; but a Confederate army of 11,000 men under General Magruder lay intrenched across the peninsula from Yorktown, the town that had

witnessed the closing scenes of the War of the Revolution. The Union general was about to make an attack when he received an order from the President detaching McDowell's corps, some 25,000 men, to join the defenses of Washington.¹²⁰ This embarrassed McClellan, and had Mr. Lincoln had a military training he would doubtless have seen that nothing would draw the Confederates away from Washington so effectually as an advance with a large army upon their own capital. But McClellan still had a large army, and might easily have broken through Magruder's thin lines, had he chosen; but he settled down to a siege of Yorktown, spent a month erecting batteries and digging trenches, and when at last he was ready to open his guns, he found that the enemy had retreated toward Richmond.

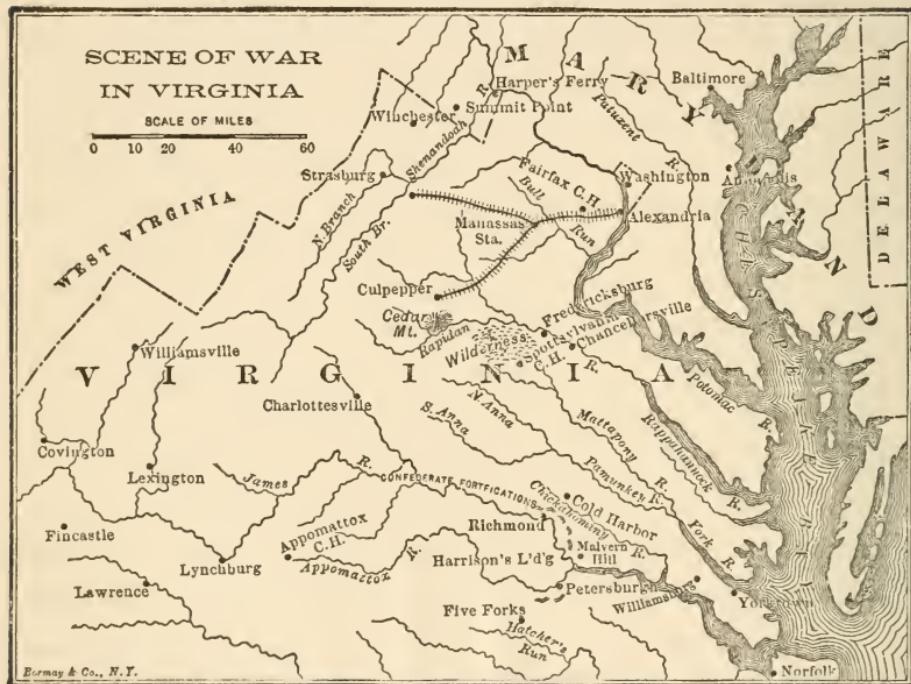
A vigorous pursuit was ordered, and the Confederates were overtaken near Williamsburg, twelve miles up the peninsula from Yorktown. Before the town stood Fort Magruder, which became the Confederate base, and here on May 5 occurred the first battle between the enemy and the army while under McClellan, though he had been commander since the preceding July.¹²¹ The battle continued throughout the day, and when night closed the conflict the

¹²⁰ This corps, with the other forces left to guard the capital, under Generals Banks and Wadsworth, aggregated at least sixty thousand men. McClellan's army was divided into four corps, commanded respectively by Generals McDowell, Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes. These had not been selected by McClellan; they had been appointed by the President. But McDowell, as we have seen, was retained at Manassas.

¹²¹ A portion of the army under Banks, however, had had several skirmishes in the Shenandoah Valley with a detachment of Johnston's army under Stonewall Jackson. In one of these, on March 23, General James Shields, whom Banks left in charge, defeated Jackson in a sharp battle at Kernstown, near Winchester.

Confederates took advantage of the darkness to continue their retreat toward Richmond. This battle took place within five miles of the site of historic Jamestown, the first permanent white settlement on the soil of the United States.

After this battle McClellan moved his army up to the head of the York River to White House, where he established his base. He preferred to approach Richmond up



the James. But President Lincoln preferred that he hold the Grand Army between Richmond and Washington, and promised to send him the corps of McDowell, which had now been swelled to forty thousand by a detachment from Banks's army on the Shenandoah. McClellan was delighted with this prospect of reënforcement; he moved across the peninsula to the banks of the Chickahominy, where he arrived on May 21, having sent Stoneman's cavalry to clear

the way for the advance of McDowell; but his hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground by a sudden turn of events.

It will be remembered that Banks had a small army in the Shenandoah Valley and that Frémont had another thirty miles westward across the mountains. President Lincoln and Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, who had in January succeeded Simon Cameron as secretary of war, conceived the plan of having Banks and Frémont join to crush Jackson. But the plan was entirely frustrated by a brilliant piece of strategy, the author of which was Jefferson Davis. The Confederate President divined the purpose of the Washington authorities, and he quietly sent Jackson a detachment of Johnston's army, raising his force to twenty thousand men. With this force Jackson prevented the union of Frémont and Banks, defeated the latter at Winchester on May 25, and swung so near to Washington as to create great excitement in that city. This action led the President to send McDowell in pursuit of Jackson; but that wonderful strategist kept the three armies of McDowell, Banks, and Frémont apart, and left them groping among the mountains while he returned to join the main Confederate army near Richmond. The movement was brilliant in the extreme, and it is quite possible that it prevented the capture of Richmond in the summer of 1862.

Before the arrival of Jackson at Richmond, however, the battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, had been fought. McClellan was deeply dejected at the turn affairs had taken. He would have approached the Confederate capital by way of the James, but for the arrangement that McDowell should join him. It was now too late to change his plans, and he determined to fight with the force at his command. He threw his left wing, composed of the corps

of Heintzelman and Keyes, across the Chickahominy to a place called Seven Pines. The keen eye of Johnston detected the weak position of McClellan's army, and he determined to attack the two corps that had crossed the river. On the morning of May 31 Johnston sent D. H. Hill with a strong force to make the attack. Longstreet supported Hill, and in a short time the battle was raging furiously between the village of Seven Pines and the railroad station of Fair Oaks. The whole Union force on that side the river, some twenty-five thousand men, was soon engaged with a much larger force, Johnston having joined in the battle with two thirds of his army. The Federals were slowly pressed back, and utter defeat seemed staring them in the face, when Sumner, the most energetic, though the oldest, of the corps commanders, suddenly appeared on the scene. He had pushed across the swollen river at great peril on a dangerous bridge of his own making, and now he rushed to the attack, threw Johnston's army into confusion, and drove it back with great slaughter. Johnston himself was severely wounded, and was carried bleeding from the field. Next morning the fight was renewed, but the Confederates soon withdrew from the field. The battle of Fair Oaks, in which the Union loss was about five thousand and the Confederate loss exceeded six thousand, was a fair victory for the Grand Army of the Potomac, and completely retrieved the wounded honor of ten months before at Bull Run. The chief honor of the victory belonged to Sumner. McClellan has been severely criticised for not following up the victory and capturing Richmond at once. The city was but six miles away, and its spires could be seen from the battle ground. But the great swamps of the Chickahominy Valley rendered such a sudden stroke at this time impracticable. McClellan,

however, was very much at fault for having his army thus divided, and but for the valiant Sumner the result would have been disastrous.

THE SEVEN DAYS' FIGHT BEFORE RICHMOND

Joseph E. Johnston was severely wounded at Fair Oaks. He could not again take the field for many months, and the command of the Army of Northern Virginia passed into the hands of his classmate at West Point, his lifelong friend, Robert E. Lee. Of all the sons of the South brought into prominence by the Civil War, Lee stands first. He was a son of "Light Horse Harry" of Revolutionary fame. He had married a wealthy and accomplished wife, the daughter of the adopted son of George Washington, and at the opening of the war he lived in unostentatious affluence at beautiful Arlington, the ancestral inheritance of his wife, on the banks of the Potomac River. He was a man of the highest culture, of quiet, sincere life, of noble impulses, of perfect morals. He loved the Union and opposed secession, but he loved his state still more. He would have been chosen chief commander of the Union armies, but he could not turn his sword upon the state that had given him birth; and at the secession of Virginia he resigned his commission and retired into private life, declaring that if the Union were dissolved he would share the miseries of his people, and, save in defense, draw the sword on none. Soon, however, he was chosen commander of the Virginia forces, and accepted the position; next he became military adviser of President Davis. When Johnston was disabled at Fair Oaks, Lee was made commander of the chief southern army, and so he continued to the end of the war. Lee was the ablest com-

mander of the South, and many believe that he had no equal on the side of the Union.

McClellan rested for nearly four weeks after Fair Oaks, sending to Washington almost daily dispatches saying that he would move as soon as the Chickahominy, which was overflowing its banks from recent rains, should subside. During this period Lee was very active. He drew reënforcement from North Carolina, Georgia, and from the Shenandoah Valley, until his effective army almost reached ninety thousand. To aid the movement of Stonewall Jackson to Richmond, Lee sent the daring cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, with fifteen hundred cavalry to make a complete circuit of the Union army; and to prevent McDowell from joining McClellan he sent General Whiting with a division to threaten Washington. The ruse was successful. Lincoln and Stanton failed to see that the object of these threats was to prevent the reënforcement of McClellan.

McClellan had now to fight both Lee and Jackson. His army numbered about a hundred thousand, and he addressed himself to the great task before him with skill and vigor. The first of the seven days' battles was at Mechanicsville on Beaver Dam Creek, a small stream that flows into the Chickahominy. In this battle Lee made the blunder of dividing his army, and in consequence suffered a stinging defeat, losing about fifteen hundred men, while the Union loss was less than four hundred.

The next day witnessed a still greater battle near Gaines Mills, and not far from the village of Cold Harbor.¹²² Here in a grand semicircle General Porter, commander of the Union right wing, disposed his troops. Early in the after-

¹²² It was on this same ground, two years later, that the Union army suffered a terrible defeat in what is known as the battle of Cold Harbor.



1826—GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN—1885.

1862.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

noon he was attacked by General A. P. Hill, but Hill was driven back with much loss. Lee now sent for Jackson to hasten to the scene, and Jackson arrived late in the afternoon. The Confederates then made a grand assault with this double force, aggregating nearly sixty thousand men, while Porter had less than forty thousand. The Union troops fought with the utmost courage, but the odds against them were too great; and but for the coming of two more brigades from the main army Porter's corps might have suffered a most serious disaster. The Confederates then halted, and ere they could attack again it was night. The weary Union legions welcomed the darkness, and ere the coming of the dawn of the following day they had joined the main army on the south bank of the Chickahominy. Neither side ever made an official report of the total losses at Gaines Mills; but it is believed that each side lost about eight thousand men.

There is no doubt that McClellan could now have captured Richmond by a bold dash. He held the Grand Army but five or six miles from the city, which had been left in charge of Magruder with twenty-five thousand men, while Lee and Jackson were more than a full day's march to the northward. The people of the city were greatly alarmed, and President Davis had the public archives packed, ready for instant removal. But there was nothing to fear. McClellan had no thought of attacking the city. His genius was methodical and cautious, and was not equal to a bold, sudden movement of such magnitude. But in one point McClellan outwitted both Lee and Jackson. They believed that if he were forced to retreat he would go back by the same route by which he had come, and all their movements for several days were made on that supposition. McClellan

quickly comprehended their mistake and skillfully kept them deceived for some days, meantime massing his army south of the Chickahominy. His object was to form a new and better base of supplies on the James River, and he made the change with great skill. But little fighting was done on June 28 and 29, and McClellan improved the time in moving his immense army over White Oak Swamp to his new base on the James. It was a great task; he had four thousand wagons, five hundred ambulances, three hundred and fifty cannon, and twenty-five hundred live cattle. Nothing but his clever deception of Lee and Jackson saved his trains from capture. Not until the morning of the 30th did the Confederates come up with the retreating army, and on that day three heavy battles were fought.

The first of these occurred between Franklin's corps and the army of Jackson at White Oak Swamp. Jackson, with thirty thousand men, attempting to cross the swamp, was attacked by Franklin with scarcely half the number. Franklin's attack was made with great courage, and it prevented Jackson from joining the main army. About two miles from this place occurred the battle of Glendale, or Frazier's Farm. Here the divisions of Longstreet and A. P. Hill, accompanied by Lee and Jefferson Davis, attacked two Federal divisions. The afternoon was marked by a succession of fierce charges by the Confederates, and the battle continued till late in the night. A third battle of this eventful day occurred at the foot of Malvern Hill, and was of much smaller dimensions. General Wise made a bold but unsuccessful attack on Porter and Keyes.¹²³ McClellan now had his army well in hand, and during the night he con-

¹²³ The losses of this June 30 are not known, but Longstreet and the two Hills reported their losses from the 27th to the 30th as 12,458.

centrated his entire force on Malvern Hill to await the fearful battle of the next day which was to close the campaign.¹²⁴

Malvern Hill is a low plateau more than a mile in diameter, near a great bend of the James River. Here McClellan placed his army in a position so strong that twice the force of Lee could not have dislodged him. The army was arranged in "a grand semicircle, with tier after tier of batteries . . . rising in the form of an amphitheater." The crest of the hill bristled with cannon, so placed that their fire could be concentrated on any point of attack. McClellan had the further advantage of being supported by his gunboats from the river. General Lee would have made no such blunder later in the war as he now made in attacking McClellan. For the first time each commander had a united army, and had the advantages been equal, a fight to the finish might have taken place.

The morning was spent in an artillery duel. Lee had decided to attempt to carry the hill by a grand bayonet charge along his whole line. But the signal was not properly given, or it was misunderstood, and the various divisions charged singly. First, D. H. Hill, then Magruder, then Huger, made a determined rush up the slope; but in each case the steady hail of musketry and the concentrated fire of the cannon from the crest of Malvern drove them back, leaving thousands dead and wounded in their trail. The battle raged till an hour after dark, the lurid glare of the powder flashes pointing out to each side the location of the enemy. At the close of the battle every Confederate assault had been repelled, every battery disabled, while not a line or a column of the Army of the Potomac had been broken.

¹²⁴ His supply train had now reached Haxall's Landing on the James, just below Malvern, and was under the protection of the fleet.

Lee's loss exceeded five thousand men, McClellan's loss was not one third as great.

McClellan then settled down at Harrison's Landing on the bank of the James, Lee withdrew his army to his intrenchments at Richmond, and thus ended the memorable peninsular campaign. The losses of the Federal army during the entire campaign were officially given at 15,249; the Confederate losses were slightly above 19,000.

McClellan now determined on a new campaign against Richmond. He had chosen an admirable position from which to operate: his base of supplies on the James was much nearer than his former one on the York, and was protected by the fleet in the river. His plan was to cross the river to Petersburg and to operate from there; but this was disapproved at Washington, and McClellan yielded the point, reoccupied Malvern Hill, and was ready to begin the new campaign, when all unexpectedly he was ordered to abandon the peninsula and return with his army to the vicinity of Washington. This was certainly an unfortunate move for the Union cause, for with a reënforcement of twenty or thirty thousand men, which had been promised him, McClellan could surely have captured Richmond within the next two or three months. He was not a very great commander, it is true, but he was safe. He was slow to strike; but when he struck, he struck with power. His movement of his base from the York to the James, deceiving both the great Confederate generals, was accomplished with consummate ability. The campaign, it must be confessed, had failed in its intended object—the capture of Richmond. But the army had vast obstacles to overcome—endless swamps and swollen rivers, with a powerful and ever vigilant foe in front. It suffered great losses, but it

inflicted greater losses on the enemy. For seven days it had fought nearly every day and had marched through the swamps at night; and yet with all this the army was not in the least demoralized. Its organization was as perfect after the battle of Malvern Hill as it was before the battle of Williamsburg, and, above all, it was intensely devoted to its commander. In view of these facts it is difficult to see why McClellan should have been recalled at this moment and his army scattered and merged into another. The answer to this question remains among the unfathomable political mysteries of Washington.

NOTES

Indians in the Civil War.—At the close of Buchanan's administration nearly all the United States Indian agents were secessionists, and they did all in their power to lead the Indians to favor the South. Agents were sent among the Indians to organize them against the Federal government; but they were not always successful. An aged chief of the Creeks of the Indian Territory, for example, took strong ground for the Union, and he had many followers. Against this chief, Colonel Douglas Cooper, a white man, organized a force in the autumn of 1861, and the Indians, after being defeated in two minor battles, fled in mid-winter to Kansas for refuge. There were various other small engagements among the Indians, usually under white leaders. Many of the Indians preferred to occupy a neutral position, but they found this difficult to do. On the whole, more of them sympathized with the South than with the North; but only at Pea Ridge were they engaged in battle on a large scale. The Indians made poor soldiers as compared with white men. They clung to their ancient methods of warfare, and failed wholly to grasp modern scientific methods.

General Butler in New Orleans.—The people of New Orleans yielded with ill grace to the occupation of the city by the Union forces, and Butler in governing the city found his path a thorny one. As he walked along the streets his ears were greeted by such calls as, "There's the old cock-eye," "Beast Butler," "Let me see the d—— rascal," "Hurrah for Jeff. Davis," and the like. The soldiers were repeatedly insulted in the streets by the crowds, and especially by women who belonged to the higher social classes. One day a woman passing two

soldiers deliberately spat in their faces. Butler could bear this no longer, and issued his famous order declaring that if in future "any female shall, by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation." This order had the desired effect, but it brought fierce condemnation on its author throughout the South and in parts of the North, and was even referred to with "deepest indignation" by Lord Palmerston, the British Premier, in the House of Commons. Butler hanged William B. Mumford for hauling down the American flag from the roof of the Mint. He took possession of a large district southwest of New Orleans and sequestered all the property for the benefit of the army and of the destitute slaves, and made himself unpopular in many ways. In December of the same year he was superseded by General N. P. Banks. Jefferson Davis then issued a proclamation declaring Butler an outlaw and a felon, and directing any Confederate officer to kill him on sight. To this a rich South Carolinian added an offer of a reward of \$10,000 for the capture of Butler dead or alive. See Greeley's "American Conflict," Vol. II, p. 96 *sq.*

Lincoln and McClellan. — An endless controversy arose after the close of the peninsular campaign concerning the merits of the relations between President Lincoln and General McClellan. Many take the ground that McClellan was incompetent and should have been recalled sooner than he was, while others contend that the administration did not support the army properly, and actually desired McClellan's downfall. There was merit and blame on each side. McClellan was utterly in the wrong in believing that Lincoln did not wish to sustain him. He was wrong also in overestimating the force of the enemy; but he accepted the reports of his spies, who, some have believed, were in sympathy with the enemy, and purposely deceived him. The assertion of some that Lincoln, believing that McClellan had aspirations to the presidency, was jealous of him and wished to degrade him, will seem absurd to any one who studies Lincoln's whole life. But Lincoln was at fault in urging McClellan to begin great operations in midwinter. He simply reflected the impatience of the great untrained public. His proclamation ordering the army to move on the 22d of February is pronounced by Ropes, one of our profoundest military critics, "a curious specimen of puerile impatience," as war orders and proclamations "will not make roads passable." McClellan was quite right in deciding not to move till spring, but he was wrong in ignoring public opinion. He should have made minor movements here and there, as he could easily have

done, to quiet public feeling. Again, when he saw that there was a frantic fear that Washington would be captured, he should have done more than he did to allay it, though he did not share it. Lincoln was greatly handicapped in two ways: First, his want of military training, and, it may be added, his commonplace native judgment in military matters; and second, his inability to extricate himself from the all-powerful political influence at the capital. Many of his appointments were based on political grounds. Here is an example: McClellan urged (see "McClellan's Own Story," p. 226) that the defenses of Washington be put into the hands of one of the ablest men of the army; but Lincoln appointed to this important post General Wadsworth, a politician wholly without military training or experience. The secret of the appointment is shown in a letter to McClellan from the secretary of war. "Wadsworth," wrote Stanton, "had been selected because it was necessary for political reasons to conciliate the agricultural interests of New York," and he declared that it was useless to discuss the matter, as in no event would the appointment be changed. No ill effects came of this; but had a Confederate army attacked Washington the result might have been disastrous. Lincoln was a victim of this political monster, which, in our government, is so strong that the strongest man cannot wholly prevail against it.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE CIVIL WAR—WAR ON A GRAND SCALE

A YEAR had now passed since the first great clash of arms at Bull Run. It was a momentous year in American history; it had brought the marshaling of vast armies and a few tremendous battles. Neither side had yet much to boast of. The North was as determined as ever to preserve the Union; but the Confederacy seemed unshaken. Yet it had visibly lost ground—not in the East, save along the coast of the Carolinas, but in the valley of the great river. Missouri had been saved to the Union; so had Kentucky; the South had lost Arkansas at Pea Ridge, and Tennessee at Pittsburg Landing. The mouth of the Mississippi had been seized, and the greatest port of the South had fallen before the armies from the North. But the year ending with July, 1862, with all its great events, was surpassed by the year that followed it. The whole land was now astir with the spirit of war. No longer did any one dream of compromise; the two mighty powers had grappled in mortal strife, and only when one had slain the other could the contest end. Which would win no one could yet say. Certainly the North, if Europe would keep quiet; otherwise, the outcome was uncertain.

THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

At this point a rapid view of the Confederate government is in place. We have noted the forming of the provisional

government at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, the election of a provisional President and Vice President, the adoption by the Congress of a permanent Constitution in March, and the removal of the capital to Richmond, Virginia. The provisional government continued for one year, its Congress consisting of but one House, when it gave way to the "permanent" government, in which the Congress consisted of two houses, similar to those of the Union. The laws of the United States in force at the time of secession continued to operate until repealed.

On November 6, 1861, an election of President and Vice President for the full six years was held, and Davis and Stephens were reëlected by a unanimous electoral vote. The inauguration took place on February 22, 1862.

Under the permanent Constitution two congresses were elected. The period of the first was from February 18, 1862, to February 18, 1864, four sessions being held. The second Congress began at the expiration of the first and continued till it was unceremoniously broken up, on March 18, 1865, by the proximity of General Grant's army. Thomas S. Bocock of Virginia was the Speaker of both congresses. In the first Congress there were delegates from the non-seceding states of Missouri and Kentucky, elected by rump conventions or by soldiers in the field. The highest number in the Confederate Senate was twenty-six and in the House one hundred and six. The Congress held most of its sessions in secret. It was not free in its acts; it was dominated by President Davis, and its main business was to register laws prepared by him. Davis soon had quarrels with the leading members of Congress as well as of the army. Toward the close of the war the Congress began to wrest itself from the control of the President. As early as Decem-

ber, 1863, Foote of Tennessee stated on the floor of the House that President Davis "never visited the army without doing it injury—never yet, that it has not been followed by disaster." The only known instance, says Alexander Johnston,¹²⁶ of entirely independent action in an important matter by the permanent Congress was that of 1865, when it voted that Davis's incompetency was the cause of Confederate disaster, and made General Lee commander in chief with unlimited powers. Certainly the presidency of the Confederacy was a thorny road to travel.

The suspending of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* was practiced in the South, as in the North; and there also it awakened much opposition, especially in Georgia and North Carolina. In the matter of conscription the South dealt more drastically than the North. An act of the Confederate Congress, February 17, 1864, declared all white men in the Confederate states, between the ages of 17 and 50 years, in the military service for the period of the war.

Little was the opportunity of the people of the South to show their capacity for self-government, which, with their many trained statesmen, they no doubt had in a high degree. The brief period of the Confederate government was one of unceasing warfare with a mightier power, and its game was a losing one throughout. Little could its Congress do but pass war measures, dealing with the raising of armies and the distressing subject of finance. From the beginning the government relied chiefly on loans. It hoped to refrain from internal taxation, and the blockade prevented an income from foreign trade. The first issue of bonds, in February, 1861, was for \$15,000,000, and this was realized in specie; but the second, three months later,

¹²⁵ Lalor's "Cyclopedia," Vol. I, p. 570.

for a hundred millions, was raised partly by accepting farm produce, by which the government became the possessor of vast stores of cotton. This produce loan system was continued through the years 1862 and 1863, and even the states followed the example and borrowed cotton by the issue of bonds.¹²⁶

As the raising of money by bond issues grew more difficult, the government came to rely on the issue of treasury notes, or paper money. The issue was at first meager; but it increased rapidly, and by the close of the war there was probably \$1,000,000,000 of Confederate money afloat. This of course decreased in value until it became worthless. The government at length resorted to internal taxation; but as the taxes were paid in its own depreciated notes, it provided for produce taxation, and the farmer paid his tax with the products of the farm. On the whole the struggle of the Confederacy for life was one of the most heroic in history.

POPE'S CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA

The almost unbroken successes of the Union armies in the Mississippi Valley created a feeling that their leaders were superior to those of the East. The latest of these western men to call attention to himself was General John Pope, a Kentuckian by birth, a graduate of West Point, and a veteran of the Mexican War. Pope's signal victory at Island No. 10 gave him national fame, and in June he was called east and given command of the forces under McDowell, Banks, and Frémont, and the combined army, some forty thousand men, was named "The Army of Virginia."¹²⁷ The following month General Halleck was called

¹²⁶ See "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. VII, p. 610.

¹²⁷ Frémont refused to serve under Pope, and General Franz Sigel was appointed in his stead.

east and made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States. Soon after this, McClellan was recalled from the peninsula, and a large part of his army was given to Pope, who was directed to make an aggressive campaign in the vicinity of Manassas. Pope started out with a bombastic proclamation, almost as turgid as that of General Smythe before Niagara in 1813.

The first serious encounter took place at Cedar Mountain, a few miles south of Culpeper. The corps of Banks, about eight thousand men, fought with more than twice their number under Jackson. Banks rushed upon the enemy's lines with great fury and threw them into disorder, and had not Jackson received reënforcements he might have been routed, though his loss was much less than that of Banks.¹²⁸ The next few weeks were occupied in skirmishes, marches, and countermarches. On one occasion Stewart with his cavalry cut Pope off temporarily from his base of supplies at Manassas and captured his private papers; and on the 27th of August Jackson captured the great Federal stores at Manassas. Lee had now moved forward with most of his army to the aid of Jackson. Pope had also been reënforced from the Army of the Potomac, but his force was still inferior to that of Lee.

On August 29 occurred the sanguinary battle of Groveton. Pope was anxious to crush Jackson before he could be reënforced by Longstreet, who was fast approaching. He ordered McDowell to fall back toward Gainesville, and from here he arranged his whole army in a semicircle, several miles long, to Bull Run. But Longstreet had arrived,

¹²⁸ Sigel and his corps were only a few miles away, but through some misunderstanding he failed to go to the aid of Banks. The Union loss at Cedar Mountain, says Livermore, was 2,353; Confederate loss, 1,338.

and the battle was general all along the line—a series of heavy skirmishes rather than a pitched battle. The fight, especially in the afternoon, went against the Federals. Pope blamed Fitz-John Porter for this. He had sent Porter word to support McDowell, but, as Porter claimed, the word did not reach him till night.¹²⁹ Pope had been worsted on this day, but he prepared for a new attack the following morning. Lee's whole army was now in his front. He imagined Lee to be in retreat, and sent McDowell to follow him; but McDowell was driven back, and Porter, who charged Jackson's right repeatedly, was driven back with great loss. The Federals were at length forced back over Bull Run toward Centreville. This battle, in which Pope was again defeated, has been called the second battle of Bull Run, as it was fought on almost the same ground as that on which the Army of the Potomac was defeated thirteen months before.

Two days later another fierce battle occurred, known as the battle of Chantilly. Lee had sent Jackson around Centreville to the north, and the divisions of Hooker, Reno, and Kearney were sent against him. The Federals were at length forced to retire, and the brave General Kearney, who had lost an arm in the Mexican War and had just passed through the peninsular campaign, was among the slain. Pope now led his army back to the defense of Washington. The campaign had cost him at least fifteen thousand men; the Confederate loss was probably above ten

¹²⁹ For not obeying this order Porter was court-martialed, dismissed from the service, and disqualified from holding any office of trust or profit in the United States. The matter became the subject of long controversy. In 1882 General Grant reviewed the case and decided that Porter was innocent. His disability was removed that year, and in 1886 he was restored to the army and retired.

thousand. If McClellan had failed on the peninsula, Pope, with all his glowing promises, had made a far more dismal failure. On the same day that he reached Washington he was relieved of command at his own request, and McClellan was restored to the command of the Army of the Potomac.

ANTIETAM

When, on September 2, 1862, President Lincoln called in person on General McClellan and requested him to resume command of the army, McClellan accepted the heavy burden without a murmur concerning the past, and the soldiers sent up cheer after cheer at the return of their old commander. The army at that moment was shattered and demoralized, but in a few days the magic hand of McClellan effected a new organization.

Lee was elated at his recent successes, and resolved to make an immediate invasion of Maryland. In a few days his army was on its way toward Harpers Ferry. McClellan at the same time moved his army up the north bank of the Potomac. He was uncertain as to the intentions of the Confederates until, on the 12th of September, Lee's order of the campaign fell into his hands. By this he learned that Jackson had gone to Sharpsburg, between the Potomac and Antietam Creek, that Longstreet was to halt at Boonsboro with the supply trains, and that McLaws was to occupy the heights above Harpers Ferry. This information was of great advantage to McClellan. When Lee entered Maryland he called upon the people to rally to his standard, to throw off the foreign yoke, and to restore the independence and sovereignty of their state; but the people failed to respond, and the southerners found only closed doors and

frowning looks. The Union army, on the other hand, was welcomed with open arms.

The first encounter, a double one, took place at two passes in the South Mountain, a continuation of the Blue Ridge north of the Potomac. General Franklin, who had been sent to relieve Harpers Ferry, met a Confederate force at Crampton's Gap, and defeated it in a sharp battle of three hours. At the same time the main army under Burnside and Reno encountered a stronger force at Turner's Gap, seven miles farther up. The battle here continued many hours, till late in the night, and the Union troops were victorious, though General Reno was killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. Hayes, a future President of the United States, was among the wounded. These two actions are known as the battle of South Mountain. The Federals won a decisive victory in both, with a loss of twenty-one hundred men,¹³⁰ but they failed to save Harpers Ferry. On the next day Jackson on the one side and McLaws on the other looked down from the heights on Harpers Ferry, where Colonel Dixon S. Miles had twelve thousand men and vast stores of arms and ammunition. With inexplicable stupidity he had remained in the trap when he should have led his men to one of the heights and held the enemy in check until the arrival of Franklin, whom he knew to be but a few miles away. Scarcely had the bombardment begun when he raised the white flag and surrendered his army and the great stores to the enemy. Miles's action arose probably from want of capacity, rather than of patriotism. Yet he would doubtless have been severely dealt with but for the fact that

¹³⁰ Lee's loss was nearly twenty-seven hundred, eight hundred of whom were prisoners. Livermore, p. 91.

a stray Confederate bullet, after the surrender, laid him dead upon the ground.

Jackson and McLaws now hastened to join the main army, which had taken a strong position on the south bank of Antietam Creek, a little stream that flows into the Potomac above Harpers Ferry. It was evident that a battle of vast magnitude was imminent, one that must decide the issue of Lee's campaign. If Lee won, he would push northward into Pennsylvania, or strike Baltimore; if he lost, he must return to Virginia. After an artillery duel at intervals, and a sharp attack by Hooker on Lee's left wing, the two great armies bivouacked on the field for the night and sought a little rest and strength for the fearful business of the coming day. At sunrise of the 17th Hooker, who commanded the Union right, opened his cannon on the enemy's left under Jackson. Jackson answered with fury, but an enfilading fire from Hooker's batteries pressed his lines back, when he received fresh masses of troops and was about to drive Hooker from his position. Hooker was painfully wounded and was borne from the field, and Sumner crossed the creek and threw his corps into the contest. Thus for hours the Union right and the enemy in its front surged to and fro, and human blood flowed like water. Meantime the left and center under Burnside and Porter remained inactive till afternoon, when Burnside charged upon the enemy. As evening approached the two armies ceased fighting as if by mutual consent. Both had suffered severely. More than 23,000 men lay dead or wounded on the field, divided almost equally between the two armies. This day has been pronounced the bloodiest day in American history. McClellan reported a loss of 12,640. For twenty-four hours the two armies rested, glaring at each other.

McClellan meant to attack on the second day, but during the preceding night Lee escaped across the Potomac in the darkness. Antietam was a drawn battle; but in another sense it was a complete victory for McClellan, for it ended Lee's proposed invasion of the North. Lee had started north with a fine army of over 50,000 men just two weeks before; now he returned with little over half the number, having lost greatly by straggling as well as in battle. Had McClellan known that on the day after the battle Lee was nearly out of ammunition and his army was greatly disorganized, he could have overwhelmed and crushed him. His pursuit of Lee was long delayed; it should have been immediate and vigorous. He alleged that his army was short in horses, short in wagons, rations, clothing, etc.; but he should have remembered, for he certainly knew, that the retreating enemy was shorter in everything than he was. Lincoln urged an immediate pursuit of Lee; but McClellan waited five weeks before attempting to cross the Potomac River. At last he did move: he crossed the river late in October, and the celerity of his march was unusual for him. But the patience of the administration had been exhausted, and on November 7, as he sat in his tent with his friend Burnside, he received a dispatch from the President relieving him of the command and giving it to Burnside.

Why McClellan was removed at this time the historian has no power to determine. Some attribute the removal to the inner political councils at Washington. It was known that McClellan was a conservative, and his friends outside the army were generally Democrats or conservative Republicans.¹³¹ Others believed that the administration feared

¹³¹ Rhodes, Vol. IV, p. 190. Burgess pronounces the dismissal of McClellan "a dark, mysterious, uncanny thing, which the historian does

that McClellan, if left a few weeks longer, would crush Lee, annihilate his army, and end the rebellion, leaving slavery intact, and they preferred that the war continue rather than that it should end with the cause of it left over to disturb the country in future. There is no proof that this motive entered the mind of the President and his advisers; but if it were so, we cannot hesitate to give it our approval. From a military standpoint, however, the removal of McClellan was a serious mistake. It is certain that he was a growing man, and that with his extreme caution and his wonderful powers of organization a great defeat of the army under him was scarcely possible. Thus closed his career as a soldier, and it is with sincere regret that we take leave of McClellan. He was a man of clean moral life and was deeply devoted to the cause of the Union. Much has been written concerning McClellan as a commander, and the best summing up of it all, in our opinion, was made by General Grant in later years. "The test applied to him," said Grant, "would be terrible to any man, being made a major-general at the beginning of the war. . . . McClellan was a young man when this devolved upon him, and if he did not succeed, it was because the conditions of success were so trying. If McClellan had gone into the war as Sherman, Thomas, or Meade,—had fought his way along and up,—I have no reason to suppose that he would not have won as high distinction as any of us."¹³²

Who should succeed McClellan? Various names were considered, and the choice fell on General Burnside, who "not need to touch and prefers not to touch." "The Civil War and the Constitution," Vol. II, p. 105.

¹³² See Young's "Around the World with General Grant," Vol. II, p. 216.

had repeatedly disparaged his own ability and had affirmed over and over again that McClellan was the ablest commander in the army. This was attributed to his modesty. Had not Cæsar refused the crown offered him by the Roman Senate? Twice had Burnside been offered and twice he had refused the command of the Army of the Potomac, declaring that he was incompetent. But George Washington had said the same thing to the Continental Congress. It was left, however, for Burnside to do what Washington never did—to prove his assertion to be true. His short, disastrous campaign, which we shall notice hereafter, left no doubt in the minds of his countrymen.

EMANCIPATION

The battle of Antietam not only drove Lee back to Virginia soil and ended his invasion, which, with a simultaneous invasion of Kentucky by forty thousand Confederates under General Bragg, had caused great excitement in the North; it also enabled Lincoln to issue the most important proclamation ever issued by a President of the United States.

The war had been going on for a year and a half; it had cost eighty thousand men and \$1,000,000,000; but it was still, as in the beginning, a war for the Union. The real cause of the strife, slavery, was not yet seriously molested. But a beginning had been made, and after Antietam the matter took such shape that henceforth there could be no backward step. Emancipation, as well as the preservation of the Union, became the policy of the government. From the beginning of the war there was a radical party that ceased not to demand that the government strike at slavery. But the President hesitated long, and the radicals denounced

him unsparingly; yet Lincoln was right. He knew that the radicals were greatly in the minority; he knew that, with all his desire to see the institution fall, he would alienate the border states and perhaps the whole Democratic party of the North if he pressed the matter too soon. The Democrats claimed to be fighting for the Union and not for the negro. Lincoln therefore, with infinite tact, waited for public opinion and aided in its development.

The gradual steps toward emancipation are interesting to note. The first step was taken by General Butler while in command at Fortress Monroe. He refused, in May, 1861, to send three black fugitives back to their master, pronouncing them contraband of war. The next step was an act of Congress in August of the same year, confiscating all property, including slaves, employed in the service of the rebellion. Next came Frémont's confiscation order in Missouri, which, as we have noticed, was overruled by the President. In May of the next year, 1862, General David Hunter, commanding on the coast of South Carolina, issued a proclamation declaring the slaves in his department—South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida—free; but the President overruled this, as in the case of Frémont. In spite of these apparent checks the subject continued to develop. On April 16, 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation. In June it passed a law prohibiting slavery in all the territories of the United States, including those to be acquired. As early as March 6 Lincoln had urged Congress in a special message to coöperate with any state for the gradual emancipation of its slaves, with compensation from the government. He figured out that the cost of the war for eighty-seven days would purchase all the slaves in the border states at the rate of \$400

I Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the states, and the people thereof, in which states, that relation ^{now} may be suspended, or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tending pecuniarily and to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave-states, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states ^{may} then have voluntarily accepted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt immediate, or gradual abolition of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent upon the continent, or elsewhere, will be continued.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S AUTOGRAPH DRAFT OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1862.

From the original in the State Library, Albany, N.Y.

That on the first day of January in the year of
our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty
three, all persons held as slaves within any
state, or designated part of a state, the people
whereof shall then be in rebellion against the
United States, shall be then, thenceforward,
and forever free, and the executive government
~~including the military, and naval authorities, etc.~~
~~of the United States, will, ~~therefore~~~~
~~immediately offer at the present session, no~~
~~and no law, of any kind,~~
recognize such persons, ~~whether free, or slave,~~ and will
do no act or acts to support such persons, or any
of them, in any efforts they may make for their
actual freedom.

That the executive will on the first day of Jan-
uary, aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the
States, and parts of States, if any, in which the
people thereof respectively shall then be in re-
bellion against the United States, and the fact
that any State, or the people thereof shall, on
that day be, in good faith represented in the
Congress of the United States, by members chosen
thereby, at elections to have a majority of the

you, and who of you tell that he is passing
to Hell, or the abode of stay evil,
testimony to whom I concur, and believe that
such state and the people thereof, are now in
an rebellion against the United States.

This resolution is hereby called to a vote of
the members "Resolved to make an addition
to Article of War" approved March 13, 1862, one
which read is in the words and figures following:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
United States in Congress assembled, That* § 1
shall be promulgated and made publick, that all persons
of the army of the United States, shall be subject to such

Article 1. All officers commanding regiments, battalions, companies, and
the United States, now in service, and their
their respective battalions, companies, and regiments, shall be liable to be held
in confinement, or to be compelled to do hard
wir or labor, when they have been found guilty
of any act of treason, or of any offense against
the service.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That a

"Also to this article and should sections of an
act entitled "An act to suppress Insurrection,
to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confis-
cate property of rebels, and for other purposes,"
approved July 17, 1862, one hundred sections are
in the words and figures following:

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That § 1 *that no person who*
shall be received into the service of the United States, shall
be a United States citizen who shall in any way give or furnish information
regarding such persons and taking into account the same, and
any slaves captured from such persons, and for whom and
*for whom the control of the government of the United States, and all its
agents and persons found in or being within the country of the United
States and any lands occupied by the forces of the United States, shall
be deemed enemies of the United States, and shall, however the same may otherwise*
and not agree held as slaves.

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That § 2 *no slave escaping into any
State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or any other State, shall*
*be delivered up, or in any way impeded in the removal of his liberty, except
for crimes, or some offence against the laws, unless the person so sought and
tryed shall first make out that the person to be tried, has been, or is
to be, a citizen allowed to be due is his last, or present, or former
a citizen of the United States, at the present day, and no person so given
up, and sent to the U.S., and no person engaged in the conduct of the civil
service of the United States shall, under any pretense, be compelled
to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the same, or
of any other person, or surrender up any such person to any other person
on pain of being dismissed from the service.*

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all
persons engaged in the military and naval
service of the Union States to observe, obey,
and enforce, within their respective spheres of
duty, the acts and sections above recited.
^{in due time after next session of}
And the executive duly recommends that
all citizens of the Union States, who shall have
remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion
shall (upon the restoration of the constitutive
relation between the Union States, and
the seceded states, and people, if that relation
shall have been suspended or disturbed) be
compensated for all losses by acts of the Union
States, including the loss of slaves.

I, Robert Morris, Mayor
of the City of Washington,
do hereby demand pay & September,
the year one thousand eight
hundred and forty six and Sixty two
days of the Independence of the United
States. The sum of One hundred
and twenty five dollars.

7/11/15
H. Van Hyne,
Secretary

apiece.¹³³ A resolution to this effect passed the House on March 11 and the Senate on April 2. Lincoln in July called the senators and representatives from the border states to the White House for a heart to heart talk on the subject. He begged them to accept his policy, pointing out to them that the opportunity might never come again, that the signs of the times pointed to the ultimate extinction of slavery; but he pleaded in vain.¹³⁴

The second and most sweeping Confiscation Act was passed on July 17, 1862. This act in substance pronounced all slaves free who should come within the protection of the government, if their owners were in rebellion against the government, or had given or should give aid or comfort to the rebellion.

On July 22 at a Cabinet meeting Mr. Lincoln declared his purpose to issue an emancipation edict to take effect January 1, 1863, and he read the document he had prepared. Two of the members, Seward and Welles, had been taken into the President's confidence and knew what was coming. The others were astonished at the announcement. But all approved it except Blair, who feared that it would throw the fall elections against the administration. At Seward's advice Lincoln decided to wait for some signal Union victory in the field, and the document was pocketed and the secret kept for two months. Meantime the radical party continued to denounce the President for moving so slowly. Horace Greeley, representing this party, addressed

¹³³ The war at that time cost \$2,000,000 a day, and the cost of eighty-seven days would be \$174,000,000.

¹³⁴ The next winter a bill came up in Congress to offer Missouri \$10,000,000 for her slaves; but it was defeated by the efforts of the border state members, aided by the Democrats of most of the northern states.

an open letter, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," to the President through the *New York Tribune*, urging him to take immediate action, to "execute the laws," meaning specially the confiscation laws. To this Mr. Lincoln replied that while his personal wish was that all men should be free, his paramount official duty was to save the Union with or without slavery.¹³⁵

Then came Antietam and the retreat of Bragg from Kentucky. Now the proclamation could be issued and seem a child of strength. On the 22d of September, therefore, Mr. Lincoln issued his preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, which has been pronounced the most important document ever issued by a civil ruler. In this proclamation he declared that the slaves in all the states or designated parts of states that should be in rebellion against the government on the first of January, 1863, should be forever free. This gave a hundred days' notice to the rebellious states, but none of them heeded the warning, nor were they expected to heed it. Accordingly, on the first day of January the President issued his proclamation, of which the former had been but a warning, declaring the freedom of all slaves in the seceding states, except in certain parts of Louisiana and Virginia, then held by the Union armies.¹³⁶

This proclamation had no immediate effect in emancipating the slaves, no more than had the Declaration of Independence in bringing independence. This could not have been expected. But the proclamation set forth the policy of the government on this most important question that ever

¹³⁵ This letter to Greeley was written on August 22, precisely a month after the famous Cabinet meeting, and precisely a month before the more famous proclamation was issued to the world.

¹³⁶ It will be remembered that slavery in the border states was not affected by this proclamation.

arose in American politics since the Revolution, except that occasioned by secession; it placed the war on a new basis without abandoning the old, namely, that henceforth it should be a war against slavery as well as against disunion; it announced to the world that if the North were successful in the great war, slavery must perish. The proclamation had a salutary effect on Europe, and won the North many friends. Europe cared little about preserving our Union, but as soon as the North proclaimed to the world that it was battling against human slavery, as well as against disunion, the sympathies of mankind were turned in its favor.¹³⁷

Lincoln had at heart belonged to the radical party all along, in that he desired the overthrow of slavery; but he was too wise to be rash. He waited for the development of public opinion, and he waited none too long. The proclamation made the administration many enemies, as well as friends, and it doubtless had much to do in bringing about an alarming political reaction in the fall elections. A new Congress was elected about six weeks after the preliminary proclamation, and the Democrats showed great gains. The Republicans lost nine members from New York, six from Pennsylvania, eight from Ohio; and but for New England and the border states they would have lost control of the House, while New York and New Jersey chose Democratic governors. But the Emancipation Proclamation was not the sole cause of the reaction. Many voted against the administration because of arbitrary arrests, of the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, of want of success in the

¹³⁷ The governing classes in England, however, still favored the South. See Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty," Vol. I, and the second volume of McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times."

field, of the dismissal of McClellan; and thousands of strong friends of the Union voted the Democratic ticket simply because they had always done so. The result, however, fell heavily on the burdened heart of Lincoln. He feared that it meant a want of confidence in himself, but he bore the burden silently and took no backward step.

Often has the constitutional right of the President to issue this proclamation been questioned. The President ordinarily has no power to interfere with private property. Not even the general government had the constitutional right to touch slavery in any state. How then could Lincoln by his mere fiat set free four million slaves? The answer is that the measure was a war measure. It is the right and duty of the President to suppress rebellion by any means necessary to success. Here was a vast rebellion against the government, and it was the slaves that raised the crops that fed the armies that fought against the government. Why not then strike at slavery? Here was the legal, technical ground on which Lincoln could do what he did, and he made use of it. He issued the proclamation ostensibly to weaken the southern armies, knowing, at the same time, that he would not weaken them thereby.¹³⁸ This then, could not have been his real object, but it was the only ground on which he had any legal right to act. Must we, then, pronounce his act but a lawyer's trick after all? However that may be, the real object of the proclamation was to compass the downfall of slavery, to prepare the way for a constitutional amendment, to secure to the future immunity from the curse of slavery. The end accomplished

¹³⁸ It is true that as the war neared its end many of the slaves were practically free, but this condition was brought about more by the exigencies of war, the ruin of the South, than by the proclamation.



1819—WILLIAM STARKE ROSECRANS—1898.

1886.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

was so unselfish and so vast as a factor in modern civilization that the world has long forgotten the technicality in admiration of its author.

BUELL, BRAGG, AND ROSECRANS

We must now change the scene again to the Mississippi Valley. A year has passed since we left the two great armies stunned and bleeding at Pittsburg Landing, and it was a year of great activity in the West. Halleck had taken command after Shiloh. He moved to Corinth, which the Confederates abandoned on his approach. In midsummer he was called to Washington, and left Grant at the head of the Army of the Tennessee. The star of General Grant, which had burst out so brilliantly at Donelson, had waned after Shiloh, and nothing but another victory could again attract to it the public gaze. For a year the army under Grant lay in west Tennessee and did little, while the Army of the Ohio, under Buell, became the chief object of the nation's attention, next to the Army of the Potomac. Early in the summer of 1862 Halleck sent Buell to capture Chattanooga, in southern Tennessee, an important railroad center and the key to east Tennessee. But Buell was delayed in repairing railroads, and the Confederate army, now commanded by General Braxton Bragg, who had succeeded Beauregard, reached the place before him and held it. Bragg was a stern, exacting man of much energy and moderate ability. His name had long been familiar to American readers through the historic expression of Zachary Taylor at Buena Vista, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg."

President Davis determined to retrieve, if possible, the losses of Donelson and Shiloh, and he sent Bragg to invade Tennessee and Kentucky. A sweeping conscription

law had passed the Confederate Congress, and this brought many new recruits to the western armies. Bragg's army moved northward in two divisions, one commanded by himself and the other by Kirby Smith. Smith moved northward from Knoxville late in August, and captured Lexington. The people of Cincinnati became greatly frightened; but Smith made no attempt on that city. He waited for Bragg, who, with the main army and a wagon train forty miles long, was racing across the state with Buell. Both were headed for Louisville, and Bragg, who had the shorter line of march, might have won, but he hesitated at the magnitude of the undertaking, and Buell entered the city in the last days of September. There his army was swelled by new recruits to sixty thousand, while Bragg had fifty thousand, nearly all seasoned veterans. Bragg now went through the farce of setting up a Confederate state government in Kentucky. Buell moved out from Louisville, determined to drive Bragg out of the state. The latter slowly retreated before the advancing army, but was overtaken at Perryville, where, on the 8th of October, was fought a bloody battle. The Union left wing under General McCook was assailed with great fury by General Polk. Buell, who had not expected a battle till the next day, was a few miles distant, and did not know of the fighting till late in the afternoon, when too late to make disposition for a general battle. He fully expected a great battle on the morrow, but during the night the enemy decamped and took up his march to the southland.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ The Union loss at Perryville was nearly four thousand; the Confederate loss was about one thousand less. A curious incident occurred to the Confederate general, Leonidas Polk, near the close of the battle. It was growing dark, and he unwittingly rode into the Union lines, thinking them his own men firing on their friends. He angrily

Buell was severely censured for his bad management at Perryville and for his subsequent dilatory pursuit of the retreating enemy. He drove Bragg out of Kentucky, and that was a victory, but his permitting Bragg to escape with all the plunder he had gathered was not relished at the North. Lincoln's pet project had long been to throw an army into east Tennessee, and soon after Perryville he informed Buell, through Halleck, that he must lead his army into that region before winter and live off the country. Buell knew this to be impossible, as east Tennessee had already been partially stripped by the Confederates; and he knew it to be bad policy, as any army subsisting off the country will become demoralized by foraging and theft. He therefore suggested to the President that if it were the intention to change the command, now would be a suitable time to do it.¹⁴⁰ Mr. Lincoln thereupon relieved Buell and appointed General William S. Rosecrans commander of the Army of the Ohio.

The parallel between Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and Lee's invasion of Maryland is striking. Both occurred in demanded why they were shooting their friends. The colonel, greatly astonished, answered, "I don't think there can be any mistake about it. I am sure they are the enemy." "Enemy!" rejoined Polk, "why, I have just left them myself. Cease firing, sir. What is your name?" "I am Colonel — of the — Indiana. Pray, sir, who are you?" Polk now saw his blunder, and saw that his only hope of escape was to brazen it out. "I will show you who I am," he shouted; "cease firing." Then he called to the men to cease firing, and cantering down the line, reached a copse, put spurs to his horse, and was soon back in his own lines. "Battles and Leaders," Vol. III, p. 602.

¹⁴⁰ Buell had been threatened with removal for some weeks. Before he left Louisville an order was sent to displace him and to put General Thomas in his place; but it was recalled. Military critics pronounce Buell one of the ablest commanders of the war, and agree that the administration was wholly at fault in removing him.

the early autumn of 1862; both failed to awaken much border-state enthusiasm for the southern cause. Both ended in failure, the one at the great battle of Antietam, the other at the moderate battle of Perryville three weeks later. In each case the Confederate commander withdrew after the battle, at night, and abandoned the expedition. The parallel is notable also between the two Union commanders—McClellan and Buell. Both were good disciplinarians, but lacking in the fire and dash necessary to an offensive campaign. Both were sincerely devoted to the Union, but were conservative on the slavery question. Both were Democrats in politics. Both were successful, without a great victory, in driving the Confederates from border-state soil. Both were removed by the President at the close of their respective campaigns, ostensibly because they were too slow to satisfy the great impatient public of the North.

Now we turn to Rosecrans. His laurels had been recently won—at Iuka and Corinth in Mississippi. When Bragg moved into Kentucky he left Generals Van Dorn and Price with a large army in northern Mississippi. Price seized Iuka in September, and Grant sent Rosecrans against him. A sharp battle ensued, with a loss of some eight hundred on each side. Two weeks later Van Dorn, now joined by Price, with twenty-two thousand troops, made a desperate assault on Corinth, in which an enormous amount of supplies were stored under the guardianship of Rosecrans with twenty-three thousand men. Here Rosecrans displayed remarkable powers. The first attack was made on the afternoon of October 3; but the real contest came the next day. About the middle of the forenoon a vast column of gleaming bayonets flashed out from the woods and made directly for the heart of the town. It came in the form of

a monstrous wedge, which presently spread out in two great wings. On these Rosecrans opened his artillery, which mowed down the men with merciless slaughter. As the column advanced the whole line of Federal infantry opened on it from their intrenchments; but the Confederates with desperate valor came on, averting their heads like men striving to protect themselves against a storm of hail.¹⁴¹ When the Federal line at length gave way at one point, Rosecrans rode between the lines in the midst of the fire of both sides, rallied his men, brought in his reserves, and won a complete victory. Corinth, with all its stores, was saved. The victory was regarded by the North as the most important of the season, next to Antietam. The Confederate loss was forty-two hundred, while the Federals lost but twenty-five hundred. Van Dorn was soon replaced by General John C. Pemberton; Rosecrans was made a major-general and was promoted to the chief command of the Army of the Ohio, thenceforth called the Army of the Cumberland.

Rosecrans displayed his independent spirit by refusing to attempt the impossible task of marching into east Tennessee, and the administration ax was soon swinging over his head. On December 4 Halleck telegraphed him, "If you remain one more week at Nashville, I cannot prevent your removal;" to which Rosecrans made the manly reply, that he was trying to do his whole duty, and that he was insensible to threats of removal. Halleck rejoined apologetically that no threat was meant, and Rosecrans remained three weeks longer at Nashville, waiting for supplies.

On the day after Christmas Rosecrans moved his army, forty-seven thousand strong, in three divisions under

¹⁴¹ See Greeley, Vol. II, p. 227.

Thomas, McCook, and Crittenden, to Murfreesborough, a town forty miles from Nashville, in which Bragg had taken up his winter quarters. Bragg's army of thirty-eight thousand men was divided into three corps under Hardee, Polk, and Kirby Smith. On December 30 the two armies lay on the banks of Stone River near Murfreesborough, within cannon shot of each other. Rosecrans's plan of battle for the next day was perfect; but it was frustrated by Bragg, who took the initiative. McCook, who held the Union right, was assaulted with terrific force by Hardee, and long before noon his division was driven back and almost crumbled to pieces. He would have been utterly defeated but for the heroic stand made by Thomas. By noon the Union forces seemed on the verge of defeat; but the great skill and the prodigious efforts of Rosecrans during the afternoon—galloping from one division to another and rearranging his lines—saved the day, and the honors at nightfall were about even between the two armies. Next day, the first of the year 1863, both armies rested, except that each prepared for the struggle that was to follow on the second. In the afternoon of the second John C. Breckenridge was sent with a large force, the best soldiers of Bragg's army, to take a hill near the bank of the river. He succeeded, but in doing so he came in range of the Federal batteries across the stream. These opened such a murderous fire that two thousand of Breckenridge's men fell in twenty minutes. When darkness settled over the field of carnage the Union army had advanced far enough to throw shells into Murfreesborough. Bragg then abandoned all thought of victory, and sought only to save his army; and before the morning of the 4th he had stolen away with his army, leaving his dead and wounded to his enemy. Stone River, or

Murfreesborough, was one of the most fiercely fought battles of the war. It was a clear victory for Rosecrans, for although he had lost more heavily than the enemy,¹⁴² he drove Bragg from his winter quarters and opened the way to a large portion of Central Tennessee. Coming within a few weeks after the disaster at Fredericksburg, this battle infused new courage into the dispirited North and gave a new meaning to the Emancipation Proclamation, which had just gone into operation. It made Rosecrans, for a season, the most conspicuous figure in the field; and it brought also into prominence a superb young commander from Ohio—Philip Henry Sheridan.

FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

Again our scene must be shifted to the East. Ambrose E. Burnside, like many of our commanders, was a graduate of West Point, and had seen service in Mexico. Personally he was an admirable character, but he was quite right in believing that he was not competent to command a great army. He divided the army, now swelled by reënforcements to 120,000 men, into three grand divisions, to be commanded respectively by Sumner, Hooker and Franklin. By the end of November he confronted Lee near Fredericksburg, a town on the Rappahannock River, about halfway between Washington and Richmond. Lee had placed his whole army, now almost 80,000 men, in a strong position on the heights just south of the town. Here Burnside determined to make an attack. After infinite trouble he succeeded in crossing the river by December 12, and next day came the dreadful slaughter of Fredericksburg. Burnside seemed

¹⁴² The battle cost Rosecrans about 13,000 men and Bragg nearly 12,000.

bewildered, and he would listen to no advice of his subordinates. He decided to attack Lee's center, occupying Maryes Heights, at the base of which there was a stone wall and a trench. The hill was crowned with lines of cannon, the sides were covered with rifle pits filled with sharpshooters, and several regiments of Confederate infantry crouched behind the stone wall. In the face of all this the foolhardy attack was to be made. Sumner's grand division was put to the awful work. General French made the first assault, but he was driven back with great slaughter. Then went General Hancock with 5,000 men; but in a few minutes he, too, fell back leaving 2,000 men stretched upon the fatal field. Three other divisions were then successively sent forward, but the result was the same—dreadful slaughter, with no impression on the enemy's works. "Oh, great God!" cried General Couch, "see how our men, our poor fellows, are falling; it is only murder now."¹⁴³ Burnside now became frantic. He called upon Hooker to lead his men to the assault. Hooker protested that it was useless, that the works could not be carried. Burnside would listen to nothing; he sternly declared that his orders must be obeyed. Hooker then sent 4,500 men with fixed bayonets into the death trap. As they came within range of the muskets the top of the stone wall became a sheet of flame. The brave men fell by hundreds, and in a few minutes the division fell back, leaving a third of its number on the ground. Now it was night, and the battle of Fredericksburg was over.

Great was the carnage at Fredericksburg, and it brought mourning to many a fireside in the North. The sadder it seemed from the fact that it might have been prevented. The Union loss exceeded 12,000 men; the Confederate loss was

¹⁴⁵ "Battles and Leaders, Vol. III, p. 173.



1814—JOSEPH HOOKER—1879.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the possession of Frederick H. Meserve,
New York.

slightly more than 5,000. Burnside was wild with anguish at what he had done. "Oh, those men, those men, over there, I am thinking of them all the time," he wailed, pointing to his army of dead and dying across the river. In his desperation he decided to storm the heights next day and to lead the assault in person, but he yielded to the dissuasion of his generals.

Seldom during the war were Confederate hopes so high as in the days that followed Fredericksburg.¹⁴⁴ The correspondent of the *London Times* wrote from Lee's headquarters that December 13 would be a memorable day to the historian of the Decline and Fall of the American Republic. He might have written that no braver army ever wielded the sword than the Union army, whose legions dashed six times, in the face of that murderous fire, against Maryes Heights at Fredericksburg. Burnside decided on another general engagement a few days later, but he was overruled by the President. The morale of the army was destroyed; officers and men lost confidence in their leader. Burnside offered his resignation, which was at length accepted by the President, who then appointed Hooker to the command of the army. In the same order he also relieved Sumner at his own request, on account of advancing age, and Franklin, because he was accused of not properly supporting Meade against Jackson at Fredericksburg.

General Joseph Hooker, known among the soldiers as "Fighting Joe Hooker," took control of the Army of the Potomac late in January, 1863. He found it greatly disor-

¹⁴⁴ This feeling was heightened by the capture of Grant's immense stores at Holly Springs, Mississippi, by General Van Dorn, just a week after the battle of Fredericksburg, and by Sherman's bloody repulse before Vicksburg a little later.

ganized and discouraged; but he was a good organizer, and in two months the army was restored to an excellent condition for active service. The entire army numbered at least 125,000, and a better army never trod American soil. It spent the winter at Falmouth, across the Rappahannock from Fredericksburg, while the army of Lee, now reduced to 60,000 by the detachment of Longstreet's corps, occupied the heights beyond the river whence it had dealt such fearful blows to Burnside in December.

There were various cavalry skirmishes during the winter, but nothing serious was attempted till the middle of April. Hooker then broke camp, moved up the river with the main army, crossed it and the Rapidan, and marched to Chancellorsville, a country tavern bearing the name of a town, about ten miles west of Fredericksburg. Hooker boasted that the enemy must now ingloriously fly or come out from his defenses and give battle "where certain destruction awaits him." Lee chose the latter alternative; he came out from his defenses to give battle—but not to meet certain destruction.

On the first day of May, 1863, the two armies lay near Chancellorsville, on the edge of the Wilderness which became the scene of a great battle a year later, and the series of battles of the next few days are known collectively as the battle of Chancellorsville. Hooker enjoyed every advantage—a strong position, the larger army, and the eager confidence of his troops. But at this moment Hooker seems to have lost judgment. To the astonishment of the enemy and of his subordinates he ordered his army to fall back from its elevated position to a lower one nearer the Wilderness. "My God!" exclaimed Meade, "if we cannot hold the top of a hill, we certainly cannot hold the bottom of it." Lit-

tle fighting was done on that day, but on the 2d the storm broke forth with fury. Stonewall Jackson now made one (and this was his last) of the rapid, stealthy, flanking marches of which he was such a master. With a force of thirty thousand he marched fifteen miles around the Union right to attack the corps under Howard. Hooker and Howard believed that the enemy was in retreat; but they were soon undeceived. At six in the evening, while Howard's men were resting, preparing supper, or playing cards—all unconscious of danger—a sudden rush into camp of wild animals, deer and rabbits, from the near-by forest, apprised them of the coming enemy. They seized their arms and attempted to form in battle line—but it was too late. In a few minutes the Confederates were upon them. Howard's men fought nobly, but they had no chance of success. In an hour the corps was cut to pieces and almost annihilated, the survivors flying like madmen. As night fell the corps of Sickles and the cavalry of Pleasanton planted themselves in the way of the on-rushing Confederates and stopped their advance. In this wild desperate charge on the evening of May 2 the Confederates had slain thousands, and had won a brilliant victory. But it was a dear victory for the South; it cost the life of Stonewall Jackson. It was after night-fall, when the hush after the battle was broken only by the wails of the dying and by a stray shot here and there, that Jackson rode out with his staff to view the grounds in front of his lines. On their return the Confederates mistook them for Union horsemen and fired on them. Jackson received a mortal wound.

Sickles renewed the battle by night, and the firing did not cease till midnight. Next morning the conflict was renewed at an early hour. Lee had brought his own im-

mediate command to the aid of the corps of Jackson. Hooker became bewildered and knew not what to do. Nothing was plainer than that he, like Burnside, was not competent to command a great army in battle. The Confederates dashed upon Sickles again and again, and were driven back. Sickles might have gained a great victory but for the fact that Hooker held back in idleness probably thirty thousand men. All was confusion in the Union ranks, and the enemy soon gained the high ground for which it fought, the Federals being pressed back to the river bank.

Thus ended Sunday, the 3d of May, with another Confederate victory. Next day another engagement took place between General Sedgwick, who had been left at Fredericksburg with twenty thousand men, and a portion of Lee's army under Early. All day the fight continued, and at night Sedgwick recrossed the Rappahannock. Two days later Hooker did the same, and the battles at Chancellorsville were ended, both armies now occupying the respective positions they had held during the winter. The campaign had cost Hooker more than seventeen thousand men. The Southern loss was over twelve thousand—and Stonewall Jackson.

In some respects this man was the most remarkable character brought into prominence by the Civil War. There is a glamour of romance around the name of Jackson. As a schoolboy he dragged far behind his class. He was a graduate of West Point; but, disliking warfare, he resigned from the army and became a college professor and a teacher in a squalid negro Sunday School. He was rather slow-moving, silent, distant, had few friends, and was not generally popular. There was something unfathomable in his nature, but no one dreamed that he was a genius. The war



1824 — THOMAS JONATHAN (STONEWALL) JACKSON — 1863.
1863.

From an original negative by Vannerson, Richmond, Virginia.

brought out his powers and proved him one of the greatest commanders of modern times. The popular notion that his attacks were impulsive and only accidentally successful was erroneous. His plans were well laid and almost faultless. Jackson was excessively religious, and his men said that when he remained long on his knees in his tent they knew that a great battle was impending. Lee's estimate of Jackson is shown in a note sent him as he lay wounded. In this note Lee stated that he would have chosen for the good of the country to be disabled in Jackson's stead. Jackson died on May 10, and there was none to fill his place. During his last hours he seemed to have forgotten the great war. He lived now with his God and with his family, who could never forget the tender beauty of his final words, “Let us cross over the river and lie down amid the shade of the trees.”

DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION—VALLANDIGHAM

As we have noticed in a former chapter, the firing on Fort Sumter welded the North into a unit for the saving of the Union. The voice of the politician was hushed in the presence of the national danger. But this condition could not continue. The old party that had ruled the country for half a century, that had been defeated by the new-born Republican party and was now in a state of eclipse, could not long remain in quiet. It might agree with its great rival in military matters, but in the field of politics new issues must be found, the administration must be attacked, as usual, by the party out of power. The Democrats soon found a plausible issue in the suspending of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* and the arbitrary arrests that followed it. As early as April, 1861, Mr. Lincoln authorized General Scott to sus-

pend the writ between Philadelphia and Washington. Congress afterward gave the President full power in the matter, and he extended the suspension from time to time till it covered the entire country for the period of the war.¹⁴⁵

This was a dangerous reach of power. To the President's constitutional power as commander of the army and navy of the United States it added the power of a dictator, of an absolute monarch, the control of the whole fabric of civil government. He could arrest any man in civil life, from a Cabinet officer or the governor of a state to the common laborer, throw him into prison and retain him indefinitely without giving him a trial or informing him why he was arrested. What a power for evil this would have been in the hands of a tyrant! But Mr. Lincoln was not a tyrant. Nevertheless he caused thousands of men to be arrested and cast into prison on such charges as "disloyal practice," "discouraging enlistments," and the like.¹⁴⁶ Justice of the United States Supreme Court Benjamin R. Curtis, who had given the opinion adverse to Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case, came out in a pamphlet against the President. He stated that to the rights of the President as commander were added the powers of a usurper, and this he pronounced military despotism. Other prominent Republicans, as, for instance, Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania,

¹⁴⁵ On September 24, 1862, the suspension was made general as affecting arrests by military authority for disloyal practices. In March, 1863, Congress sustained the President and again authorized the suspension, and on September 15, 1863, the President issued another proclamation limiting the suspension to prisoners of war, deserters, abettors of the enemy, etc.

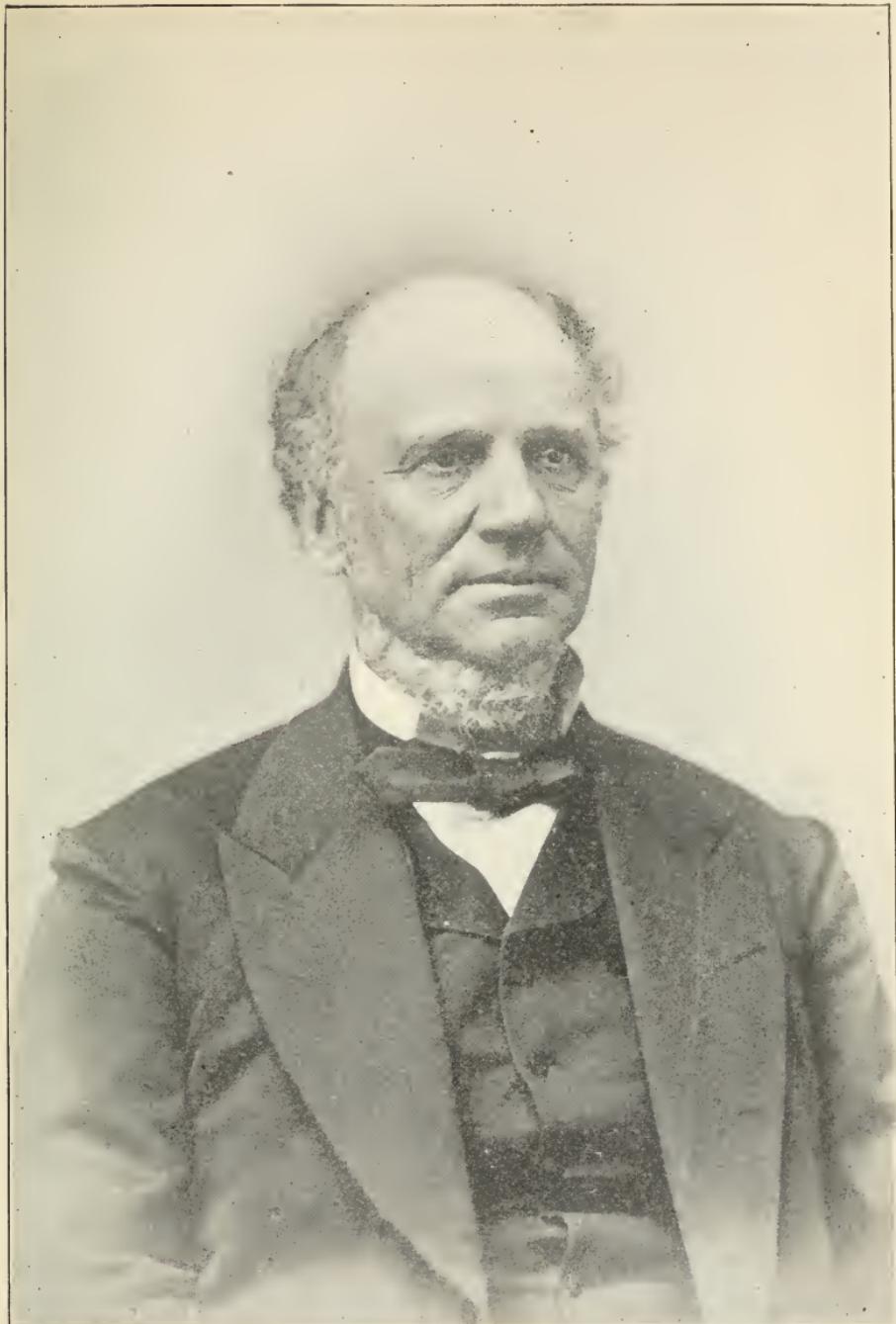
¹⁴⁶ Alexander Johnston in Lalor's "Cyclopedia" gives thirty-eight thousand as the whole number of military arrests; but this number is no doubt too large. See discussion in Rhodes, Vol. IV, pp. 231, 232.

protested loudly against the arbitrary acts of the government. Above all, these acts became a powerful weapon in the hands of the Democrats, who were unsparing in their criticisms. Some of the more rabid Democratic journals were suppressed by the government; but this action only awakened a louder demand for freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, and there is little doubt that the result was a weakening of the administration party. The same may be said of the arbitrary arrests. In some cases the result was doubtless beneficial; in others great injustice was done. On the whole it may be safely asserted that more harm than good came of the suspending of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, especially in the states not occupied by the armies, and that it weakened rather than strengthened the Union party. The civil authorities should not have been superseded by the military, except in the armies and the territory occupied by them. The only reason that the people did not rise against the government for its usurpations was the same that prevents a sick man from rising against the surgeon that operates on him with the knife. Every man, Democrat or Republican, knew in his heart, whether he acknowledged it or not, that the administration did not mean to abolish our free institutions or to overturn our form of government, but that it meant simply to put down the rebellion. The people, regardless of party, also knew that Abraham Lincoln, from the rugged honesty of his soul and the breadth of his human sympathy, was not and could not be a tyrant; that whatever he did, and however many his mistakes, his ultimate aim was to save the country and to serve the people.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ This thought is brought out by Rhodes; see Vol. IV, p. 171.

But the Democrats must oppose the administration. Why not? Such is the chief business of the party out of power in the United States, and a good, wholesome business for the country it is. The Civil War period was no exception. There was much to criticise aside from what has been mentioned—corruption in the giving out of government contracts, extravagant expenditure of money, political favoritism in military appointments, and the like. The Democrats certainly made a profound impression on the country, as shown by their carrying so many of the great states of the North in the autumn elections of 1862. To the end of the war there was a strong, fearless Democratic minority in Congress. Many of its issues were well chosen. Its influence was often wholesome, and it had far more weight in shaping legislation than is generally believed. There were other issues, however, concerning which we have less sympathy with the Democrats. They—many of them, not the party as a whole—opposed emancipation, and, still worse, they opposed the draft. They had at first heartily joined the administration to save the Union; but they were set against making the war a war for abolition also.

At the opening of the war there were more volunteers than could be used. But the enthusiasm subsided. The reports of the frightful slaughter on the battlefield, of the hard life and small pay of the soldier, contrasted with the good times and opportunities to make money at home, led men to prefer staying at home. Volunteering almost ceased, and the government followed the example of the Confederacy and resorted to conscription. In March, 1863, Congress passed an act authorizing the President to make drafts on the national forces at his discretion, after the first of the ensuing July. By this act he could replenish the armies by



1810 — HORATIO SEYMOUR — 1886.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative, in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

force. Men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years were subject to the draft;¹⁴⁸ they were to be chosen by lot, and any one drafted who did not report was to be treated as a deserter. One might, however, hire a substitute, or be excused on the payment of \$300. This practice raised an outcry from many, chiefly, but not exclusively, Democrats. The supreme courts of New York and Pennsylvania pronounced the draft unconstitutional and void.¹⁴⁹ The opposition broke into open rebellion in the city of New York. Most of the newspapers of that city denounced the draft as an outrage on individual liberty and state rights. When the enrollment began in that city (at 46th Street and Third Avenue), a mob broke into the enrollment office, drove the officials out and set the building on fire. For three days thereafter the streets of the city were filled with a drunken, furious, bellowing mob numbering many thousands. The rioters, many of them foreign born, attacked the *Tribune* office, fell upon negroes on the streets, killing several, burned the colored orphan asylum on Fifth Avenue, and indeed held the city wholly in their grasp for several days.¹⁵⁰ Meantime the newly elected Democratic governor, Horatio Seymour, addressed the crowd, begging them to return to their homes and to keep the peace until he heard from Washington, as he had sent his adjutant-general thither to have the draft suspended. A body of troops soon

¹⁴⁸ There were many exemptions from the draft. Certain high officials of the government or of the state, the only son of a widow or of an aged father dependent on that son, the father of motherless children under twelve years of age, the residue of a family which had two members in the service, and others, were exempt from the draft.

¹⁴⁹ This was afterward reversed by circuit and district courts, but the matter never came before the Supreme Court of the United States.

¹⁵⁰ See *New York Tribune*, July, 1863.

arrived in the city, fired on the mob, killing several, and at length restored order. Similar outbreaks on a smaller scale took place in Jersey City, Boston, and other places. In the end, however, the people submitted to the government, and the depleted armies were replenished by means of the draft.

Let us once more advert to the subject of arbitrary arrests and note the most conspicuous case in the history of the war—that of Clement Laird Vallandigham, a member of Congress from Ohio until defeated for reëlection in 1862 by Robert C. Schenck. He was the leader of the radical element of the Democrats in the West, often called “Butternuts” or “Copperheads,” and he lost no occasion to denounce the administration. Referring to arbitrary arrests, he declared that Lincoln, Stanton, and Halleck should be arrested. Ohio was to elect a governor in 1863, and Vallandigham was an aspirant for the Democratic nomination. He went about over the state making speeches bitterly denouncing the conduct of the war. He was a strong and able leader, a successful orator, a dashing politician of the Douglas type, but, there is reason to believe, without the deep sincerity of soul that characterized Douglas. The last and most violent of his speeches in this canvass was made at a great Democratic meeting at Mt. Vernon.

General A. E. Burnside, after his disaster at Fredericksburg, was assigned to the Department of Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati. Soon after he was installed in the new position he issued a war order stating that declaring sympathy for the enemy would not be allowed. Burnside soon had his eye on Vallandigham, and sent agents in citizen's clothes to hear his speeches. These agents declared the speech at Mt. Vernon incendiary, and Burnside deter-

mined to arrest Mr. Vallandigham. On May 5, at two o'clock in the morning, a band of soldiers beat upon the door of Vallandigham's home in Dayton, and, being refused admittance, they burst in the door, seized Mr. Vallandigham in his bedchamber, and carried him to Cincinnati.

In a few days the distinguished prisoner was tried by a military court, before which he refused to plead and whose jurisdiction he denied. But the trial went on, and Mr. Vallandigham was found guilty of "declaring disloyal sentiments," and was sentenced to close confinement during the remainder of the war. Burnside approved the decision, but Mr. Lincoln commuted the sentence to banishment to the southern Confederacy, the sentence of the court to be carried out only in case of his return. The banishment was duly executed by General Rosecrans.

There was a vigorous Democratic protest from all sides against the summary dealing with Vallandigham. A great meeting at Albany, New York, strongly condemned the proceedings, and sent a set of resolutions to the President requesting, almost demanding, a reversal in the case of the Ohio statesman. Mr. Lincoln answered in a long argument for the necessity and the constitutional warrant for the system of arbitrary arrests. He touched a popular chord when, in speaking of the universal rule of inflicting the death penalty for army desertions, he said, "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert?"

Vallandigham did not remain long in the South. He escaped in a blockade runner and repaired to Canada. While there he was nominated by the Democrats for governor of

Ohio, and the convention that made the nomination appointed a committee of eminent citizens to address the President in favor of a revocation of the order of banishment. Lincoln made a most ingenious, if not a very dignified, answer. He offered to revoke the order if they, the members of the committee, would sign a paper promising to do all in their power to aid and encourage the army and navy in suppressing the rebellion. The committee replied that they would not enter into any bargains or contracts with the President for the return of Mr. Vallandigham; that they asked it as a right and not as a favor.

The Ohio canvass went on, and the Democrats declared that if their candidate were elected they would meet him at the state line and conduct him to the capital in such numbers as to protect him from attack. But the news from Gettysburg, from Vicksburg, and from Port Hudson was so favorable to the Union cause that the war party took new courage and swept the state, electing their candidate, John Brough, over Vallandigham by a majority exceeding a hundred thousand.¹⁵¹

DOINGS OF CONGRESS

During the war period Congress attracted less attention than usual, for the reason that the eyes of the country were directed to the armies in the field and to the President, whose "war powers" led him to trench greatly on the power

¹⁵¹ Burnside soon after this affair suppressed the *Chicago Times* for disloyal utterances. But the people rose in great numbers, Republicans as well as Democrats, and demanded that the right of a free press should not be infringed, and President Lincoln revoked the order of Burnside. By a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States (The Milligan Case, 1866, 4 Wallace 128) such proceedings as that against Vallandigham, as also the suspending the writ of *Habeas Cor-*

of Congress.¹⁵² To the ordinary legislation necessary to support the war it is needless to devote our space; but a few of the extraordinary acts must be noted. We have referred to the scheme for internal taxation and to the Confiscation Act, and also to the action of Congress concerning the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. In May, 1862, the Homestead Act was passed, which has proved a wonderful boon to the settlement of the great West. By this law any citizen was given the right to settle on one hundred and sixty acres of public land, and at the end of five years to own it by paying \$1.25 an acre. An act of July, 1862, provided for a railway to the Pacific Coast, but some years were yet to pass before this great work could be completed.

No legislation during the war was of greater importance than that which concerned the national finances. The public debt, less than \$70,000,000 at the opening of the war, shot upwards with surprising rapidity, and within two years it had reached \$500,000,000. In December, 1861, the government and the banks agreed to suspend specie payments. To meet the new conditions Congress passed the Legal Tender Act, which became a law on February 25, 1862. By this law an issue of \$150,000,000 in treasury notes was made legal tender for all private debts and public dues, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt. The issues were afterward increased till they reached \$450,000,000, popularly known as "greenbacks" because of their color. The act authorizing the first issue of greenbacks

pus away from the seat of war, were virtually pronounced unconstitutional. Vallandigham returned to Ohio in June, 1864, and went about unmolested by the government. He died in 1871 by a pistol shot fired by himself accidentally, while explaining a murder case to a jury.

¹⁵² See Rhodes, Vol. IV, p. 57.

provided also for funding them in six per cent bonds, payable in coin, and known as "five-twenties."¹⁵³ The great problem was, how to keep the legal tender notes from depreciating in value. The fact that they could be used in the purchase of government bonds while the interest on these bonds was payable in coin was a tower of strength. But the government preferred to sell its bonds for coin, as coin had the greater purchasing power. And yet, if the government refused its own notes in the sale of bonds, the value of the notes would fall in an alarming degree. How to prevent this was the question; and its solution in part was found in the establishing of a National Banking system.

The act creating the National Bank was passed in February, 1863,¹⁵⁴ and was based on the state bank system of New York. Under this law a company of five or more persons might found a bank with a capital not to fall below a certain amount. The company was then obliged to deposit with the United States treasurer government bonds to the amount of one third of its capital stock paid in. These bonds were then held to secure the notes issued by the banking company, and such notes were not to exceed ninety per cent of the bonds held by the government. The government thus became responsible for the bank's notes, made them legal tender, and secured the holder from loss by the bank's failure. In March, 1865, Congress passed a law taxing state banks so heavily that they had to go out of business or become national banks. This admirable system relieves the people from keeping track of the standing of

¹⁵³ Because payable after five years and due in twenty years from date. This loan became a very popular one.

¹⁵⁴ This act was amended and improved by act of June 3, 1864.

any bank of issue, as the nation is security for its notes. Some object to the national banking system because it precludes the full payment of a national debt; but, as I have stated elsewhere, a moderate national debt is not a burden, and it may be a benefit, to any country. This system inspired confidence on all sides; it became a power in drawing from the people the necessary support of the war, and in later years it aided the government greatly in resuming specie payments. The banking system was the crowning achievement of Secretary Chase. It has grown in public favor to this day, and it promises to be a fixture in our government.

It will be observed that congressional legislation during the war encroached seriously upon the powers granted by the Constitution. This was especially true in the case of the suspension of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, as we have noticed, of the Revenue Act, and of the restriction of the press. The Constitution expressly provides for liberty of speech and of the press. In spite of this, many newspapers were suppressed, issues of others were seized by United States officials, and the use of the mail service was denied them; and many men were seized and imprisoned merely for criticising the government's conduct of the war. In time of peace such a procedure would be alarming to a free people. But a state of war changes the whole aspect of the government. The nation was struggling for its life. Why should it not use every means necessary to preserve that life? The government made many mistakes; but there is no reason to believe that there was any intention to encroach permanently on American personal liberty. Nor did it so result; for now, after the space of forty years, per-

sonal liberty and local self-government are as sacred and as fully enjoyed by the people as before the war.

VICKSBURG

At the close of the year 1862 the military situation was not very favorable to the Union cause. In the East the mistake had been made of withdrawing McClellan from the peninsula, and, after Antietam, of superseding him with a much weaker man. This had resulted in the great disaster of Fredericksburg, and, the following spring, in that of Chancellorsville. In the West, Corinth had been saved, Bragg had been driven from Kentucky and defeated in early January at Murfreesborough, but he had not been disabled—only put on the defensive. Meantime the Federals had lost a grand opportunity to seize Vicksburg before it was fortified by the Confederates.

We have stated that Grant did little for a year after the battle of Shiloh, but the fault lay far more with Halleck than with him. After Shiloh Halleck had assumed command of the Army of Tennessee, which had swelled to a hundred thousand men. He moved southward and occupied Corinth the last of May, the Confederates having abandoned the place without a battle.

A week later the Federal fleet on the Mississippi captured Memphis, after a fierce fight of the gunboats. Farragut, after the capture of New Orleans in April, had proceeded up the river, had passed Vicksburg, and had joined with Commodore Davis, the successor of Commodore Foote whose wound had obliged him to retire. Farragut repeatedly asked Halleck for a portion of his army to occupy Vicksburg, and thus to secure the whole course of the great river. Vicksburg, situated on a bluff opposite a sharp bend



1820 — CLEMENT LAIRD VALLANDIGHAM — 1871.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the possession of Frederick H. Meserve,
New York.

in the river halfway between Memphis and New Orleans, was the greatest stronghold, and, next to Richmond, the most strategic point, in the South. Its occupation by the Federals at this time would have been easy; and its possession would have given them control of the whole course of the Mississippi and would have severed Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy. But Halleck's mind was not large enough to grasp so great a subject;¹⁵⁵ he refused to send Farragut any aid, and meantime Van Dorn hastened to Vicksburg with a few thousand men and worked them day and night till the place was well fortified and mounted with cannon. Farragut returned to New Orleans, and Van Dorn went down the river to Port Hudson, two hundred miles below Vicksburg, fortified it, and held the river between the two points. At any time before the middle of July, 1862, Halleck coöperating with Farragut and Davis, could have secured Vicksburg with a small portion of his army; but the opportunity was lost, and the blunder cost a year of weary warfare and thousands of human lives.

Again, Halleck might have seized Chattanooga, the key to eastern Tennessee and the chief railroad center between Virginia and the Southwest. But he failed also to do this. In the midst of this series of blunders by this opinionated Western commander, President Lincoln committed a still more serious blunder—he appointed Halleck commander in chief of all the armies of the United States.

This promotion of Halleck left Grant in superior command in the West, and he immediately began planning the capture of the great Confederate stronghold, Vicksburg. The Mississippi River in its lower course winds like a

¹⁵⁵ See Fiske's "Mississippi Valley in the Civil War," p. 141.

mighty serpent from side to side of an alluvial bottom averaging forty miles in width. On the eastern side these great coils here and there sweep up to the bluffs of the highlands of Tennessee and Mississippi. On such bluffs are situated Vicksburg, Memphis, and Port Hudson, and these strategic points were necessary to the military occupation of the river. Memphis had fallen from the Confederate grasp, and Grant saw that the capture of Vicksburg would occasion the fall of Port Hudson and would sever the three trans-Mississippi states from the Confederacy, which drew from that section much of its food supply, thousands of its soldiers, and even munitions of war from Europe through the ports of Mexico. But Vicksburg was almost impregnable. Situated two hundred feet above the waves that break upon the base of the cliff, its cannon could destroy any hostile fleet that might approach from above or from below, while the obstacles in the way of a land approach were almost equally insurmountable. The capture of Vicksburg was therefore a work of unknown peril to an army, and few generals could have accomplished it.

Grant, with an army of fifty thousand men, made several unsuccessful attempts in the autumn of 1862, and the northern public grew impatient at his failure and clamored loudly for his removal. Halleck, Stanton, Chase, and others joined in the general demand that Grant be superseded; but President Lincoln determined to "try him a little longer," and thus in some degree he counteracted his mistake in making Halleck commander in chief. Grant's first attempt consisted in moving his army down into the interior of Mississippi in the hope of forcing the evacuation of Vicksburg without attacking it. In this way—by his great flanking movement up the Tennessee by way of Donelson to Shiloh

—he had caused the evacuation of Columbus, Fort Pillow, and Memphis; but in the case of Vicksburg he had to leave his base of supplies so far behind that the plan was found impracticable, and it was abandoned.

The next plan was to divide the army: Grant was to remain in Mississippi with a portion, while Sherman was to return with the rest to Memphis and embark on the fleet of Admiral Porter, who had succeeded Davis, for a point just north of Vicksburg, and thence to coöperate with Grant. This plan was carried out in December, and might have promised success but for the fearful ravages of the Confederate cavalry. On the same day that Sherman embarked at Memphis, Van Dorn with thirty-five hundred cavalry swooped down like an eagle upon Holly Springs, where Grant had stored a million and a half dollars' worth of supplies, destroyed the stores, and captured the garrison. At the same time General Nathan Forrest made a cavalry raid across Tennessee, destroyed the telegraph and sixty miles of railroad, cutting Grant off for nearly two weeks from all communication with the rest of the world. With his stores destroyed and no railroad left by which to secure more, Grant could only retreat and live off the country while doing so.¹⁵⁶ While Grant was making this retreat of eighty miles, Sherman with thirty-two thousand men was floating down the river. Reaching the mouth of the Yazoo just above Vicksburg, he ascended that river for a few miles, made a desperate attack on the enemy's works at Chickasaw

¹⁵⁶ Some southern ladies tauntingly asked Grant from what source he could now feed his army, and he quietly remarked that their barns seemed to be well stocked. "What," they exclaimed in alarm, "you surely would not lay hands on private property!" Grant regretted the necessity, but informed them that they could not expect him to starve his army. Fiske, p. 200.

Bayou, and suffered a stinging defeat, losing eighteen hundred men to two hundred by the enemy. Sherman's command was then turned over to General John A. McClernand, who had come down the river with an independent command. McClernand, after fighting in Grant's army at Donelson and Shiloh, had raised an army in the West, boasting that he was tired furnishing brains for Grant, and had persuaded the President to send him down the river on his own account. He and Sherman then made a raid up the Arkansas River, captured Arkansas Post (January 11, 1863), and were about to make an expedition far into the Red River country, when Grant made serious complaint against taking so large a force from the main object of the campaign; whereupon Grant was given the command over McClernand, with the option of giving that general the conduct of the movement against Vicksburg, or of assuming it himself; and he chose the latter.

Grant now went down the river, collected his army in four corps under Sherman, McClernand, Hurlburt, and McPherson, and spent the winter in making various unsuccessful experiments. First he tried to dig a canal across the narrow peninsula opposite Vicksburg, so as to bring his supplies from Memphis without coming within range of the guns of the city. But after six weeks of arduous toil the great river rose beyond its banks, submerged the work, drowned many horses, and forced the men to flee for their lives. Another plan was to follow the labyrinth of bayous west of the Mississippi; but this too had to be given up. Grant next attempted to approach Vicksburg by way of the Yazoo Pass and the Tallahatchie and Yazoo rivers; but his vessels were unable to pass the guns of Fort Pemberton on the Yazoo, and the plan was abandoned. An attempt

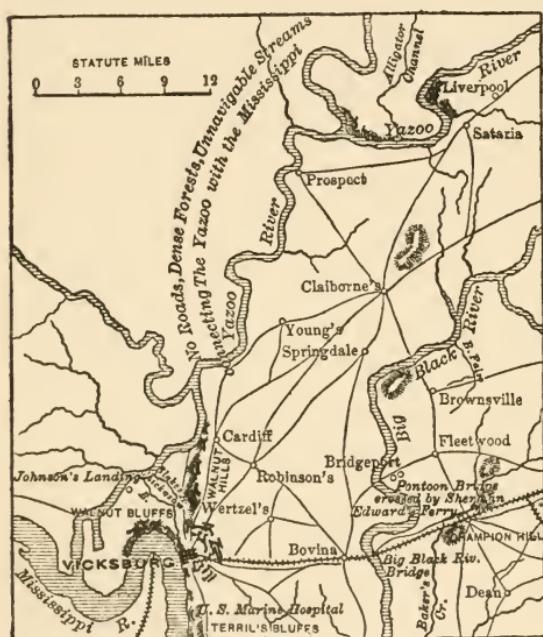
was then made to reach the Yazoo by means of a stream that empties into it below Fort Pemberton, but after eleven days of perilous toil this too was given up. March had passed, and Grant had made no progress whatever toward investing Vicksburg. It was at this time that the cry in the North became loudest that Grant should be dismissed, and that Lincoln decided to try him a little longer.

General Grant now at last conceived the plan that was destined to succeed; namely, to send the army to a point below Vicksburg by an overland route west of the river and to run the batteries at Vicksburg with the supply boats under the protection of Porter's ironclads. Silently in the darkness a fleet floated down the river. For an hour the darkness and silence were unbroken, and the crews began to believe they would pass unnoticed, when suddenly the heavens were lighted by burning powder, and the roar of artillery burst forth from the tiers of batteries that crowned the bluff in front of the city. "The sight was magnificent, but terrible," said Grant. Porter opened his guns from the fleet and threw many shells into the streets of the city. All the vessels were struck, but all escaped destruction save one of the steamers, which, being set on fire, burned to the water's edge. A week later another fleet of supply boats ran the batteries in safety, and on the last day of April the fleet met the army, which had been struggling for a month through the swamps west of the river.¹⁵⁷ The army was now on the west side of the river opposite Grand Gulf, another bluff in the hands of the Confederates and twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. A crossing was effected some miles below, and on the 3d of May Grand Gulf was cap-

¹⁵⁷ Sherman's corps was still above Vicksburg, but came down and joined the main army early in May. Hurlburt was still at Memphis.

tured after a sharp battle with eight thousand of the enemy.

The Federal army had secured a footing below Vicksburg, but its tenure was uncertain. It was in the midst of a hostile country, far from any base of supplies, and every day would increase its perils. Grant knew that he must strike without delay. He came to a resolution that would have done credit to the great Napoleon for its audacity. Grant had about forty-five thousand men. Before Vicks-



burg sat Pemberton with an army of about the same size. Near Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, fifty miles from Vicksburg, was another Confederate army, fifteen thousand strong, soon to be commanded by Joseph E. Johnston, who was hastening from Chattanooga. Grant determined to cut himself off from

his base at Grand Gulf, to march against Johnston's army and destroy it, then to turn upon Pemberton, beat him in battle and drive him within the defenses of Vicksburg. The daring campaign was begun on the 7th of May.¹⁵⁸ On the 12th the battle of Raymond was fought

¹⁵⁸ The Confederates of Central Mississippi had been demoralized by a daring raid, April 17-May 2, around Jackson by one thousand cavalrymen under Colonel Grierson. This was a great aid to Grant.

between McPherson and five thousand Confederates. Two days later Johnston's army was again routed, and the city of Jackson was captured. Leaving a body of troops to burn the arsenals and military factories at Jackson and to tear up the railroad for twenty miles around, Grant turned his face toward Vicksburg. Pemberton had come out to meet him, and they came face to face at a place called Champion Hill. Here a terrific battle of eight hours was fought, in which Pemberton lost all his artillery and four thousand men, including prisoners, while four thousand others became detached from his army and fled into the interior of Mississippi. The remainder hastened toward Vicksburg, but on the next day they were overtaken at the Big Black River, and were again defeated.¹⁵⁹ The Confederates then took refuge in the defenses of Vicksburg; and Haines Bluff, a stronghold on the Yazoo a few miles above, was abandoned to the Union army with its stores and guns, for the enemy had left in too great haste to destroy them. On the 18th of May Grant's army was safely lodged on the heights around Vicksburg, and the fall of Haines Bluff had opened its communications with the North. This was without exception the most brilliant campaign of the Civil War. It is true that Grant fought against inferior numbers in every battle; but this was largely because of his skill in preventing the two armies of the enemy from uniting. In eleven days from the time he left Grand Gulf, Grant had marched about one hundred and fifty miles in the enemy's country without a base of supplies, had fought and won four battles, had destroyed

¹⁵⁹ But the enemy succeeded in burning the bridge over the Big Black. Otherwise Grant would doubtless have beaten him in reaching Vicksburg.

or captured twelve thousand of the enemy with a loss of less than five thousand, and had captured a state capital. He had moved with a celerity never surpassed by Stonewall Jackson in his palmiest days; and he was now ready to invest this great Gibraltar of the South. On the morning of the 19th, as Grant and Sherman rode out on the bluff, the latter burst forth in praise and admiration of his chief and of the great campaign that he had planned and carried through. Grant lighted a fresh cigar, smiled, and said never a word.¹⁶⁰

The Union army was flushed with victory, and the troops believed they could carry the works of the city by storm. On the 19th an assault was made upon the works, and the result was a moving of the base of the besiegers nearer the besieged, a tightening of the coil of the encircling army about the doomed city. A grand assault was then made by the whole Union army. But the enemy fought like a wild beast at bay, and the Federals lost three thousand men and won nothing. Grant has been censured for this waste of men; but he believed that his army would be impatient of a long siege unless first convinced that to carry the works by storm was impossible. After the assault the army was content to settle down to a regular siege.

Johnston was raising a large army to attempt the rescue of Pemberton. Grant saw the danger, and called for reinforcements from the North. The response was prompt, and within a few weeks his army was almost doubled. He placed nearly half the army under Sherman some miles in the interior to watch Johnston, who hung in the rear like a gathering cloud. The siege went on for six weeks. The men worked like marmots in the trenches, approaching

¹⁶⁰ Fiske, "The Mississippi Valley," p. 241.



1813—DAVID DIXON PORTER—1891.

1877.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

nearer and nearer the breastworks of the enemy. Porter's fleet lay in the river, from which the bombardment was incessant day and night. The shrieking shells rose in grand parabolic curves, bursting in midair, or on the streets of the city, spreading havoc in all directions. The people of the city found safety by burrowing in the ground. Whole families lived for weeks in safety in these dismal homes, with their walls of clay shaken at intervals by the roar of battle that raged above them.

Vicksburg was shut out from the world. Food soon began to run low. At length almost nothing could be had except mule meat and a mixture of dried peas and cornmeal, and these were becoming exhausted. Many had perished, both of the garrison and the residents, from the bursting of shells, from sickness and exhaustion; and at length starvation stalked among the remnant like a devouring monster. Such was Vicksburg at the opening of July, 1863. Further resistance was suicidal. Nothing was left but to surrender, and at ten o'clock on the morning of the 3d, white flags were seen waving above the parapet. The cannon instantly ceased to roar, and that afternoon Grant met Pemberton to arrange terms of surrender. Next day, the glorious 4th, the surrender was accomplished, and this powerful citadel of the South fell into the possession of the Union army.

With Vicksburg were surrendered 37,000 prisoners of war, 172 cannon, and 60,000 muskets. Port Hudson could not stand after the fall of Vicksburg; on the 9th of July it surrendered to General Banks,¹⁶¹ and the whole course of

¹⁶¹ Grant paroled his prisoners. Port Hudson was surrendered by General Gardner with over 6,000 men and 7,500 muskets. It could

the Mississippi was in the hands of the Union armies. In the vigorous language of Mr. Lincoln, "The Father of Waters rolled unvexed to the sea."

GETTYSBURG

During the last days of the siege of Vicksburg still greater events were taking place in the East. Here was fought at this time the greatest battle of the Civil War—the battle of Gettysburg. Most of the fighting in the war took place south of Mason and Dixon's line, but this terrific clash of arms occurred on the soil of the old Keystone state, which had given birth to the Declaration of Independence and to the Constitution of the United States. We left Lee's army flushed with victory at Chancellorsville and strengthened by the memory of Fredericksburg. Southern hopes were high after Chancellorsville, and public opinion was unanimous in demanding an invasion of northern soil. On the other hand, the Army of the Potomac, under its many masters, had met with one discouragement after another, and, with all its patriotism and valor, its two years' warfare showed but few bright pages to cheer the heart of the war-broken soldier, and to inspire the hopes of an anxious public.

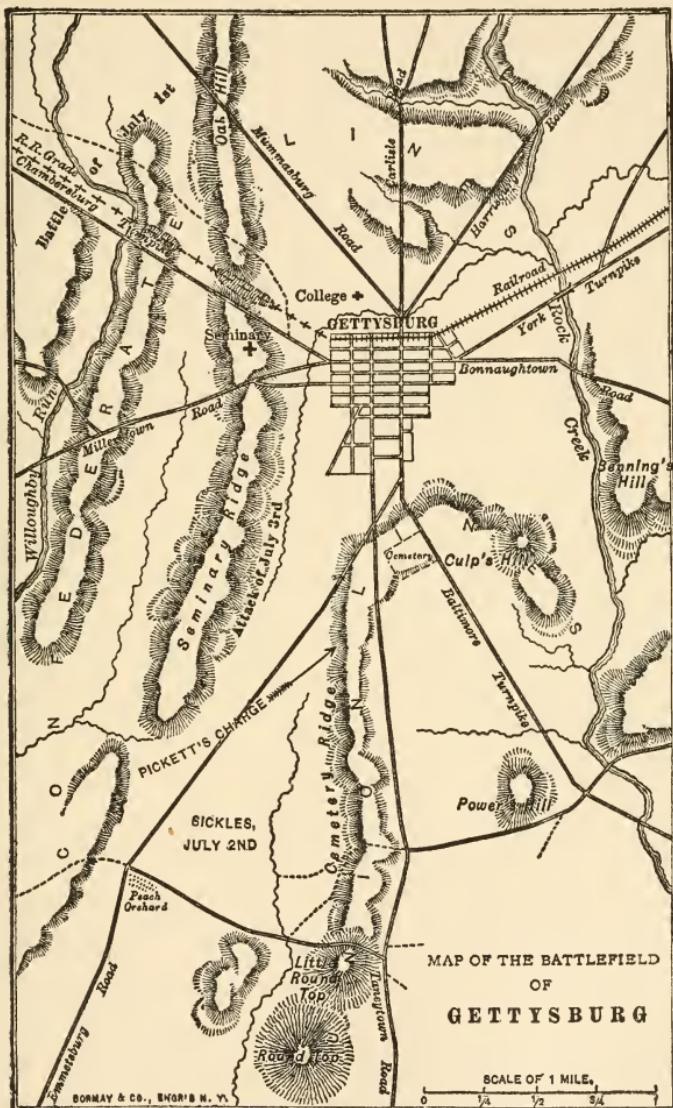
Leaving General Stewart with ten thousand cavalry and a part of Hill's corps to prevent Hooker from pursuing, Lee crossed the Potomac early in June, concentrated his army at Hagerstown, Maryland, and prepared for a campaign in Pennsylvania, with Harrisburg as the objective point. His army was divided into three corps under the respective commands of Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill.

not have withstood the siege much longer, even if Vicksburg had not surrendered.

GETTYSBURG

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Lee had divided his army so as to approach Harrisburg by different routes and to assess the towns along the way.



for large sums of money, when late in June, he received the startling intelligence that Stuart and Hill had failed to

detain Hooker, that the Federal army had crossed the Potomac and was in hot pursuit.

Lee was quick to see that his programme must be changed. He knew that to continue his march he must keep his army together to watch his pursuing antagonist, and that such a course in this hostile country would mean starvation, while the willing hands of the surrounding populace would minister to the wants of his enemy. Again, if he should scatter his forces that they might secure the necessary supplies, the parts would be attacked singly and destroyed. Lee saw, therefore, that he must abandon his invasion of the North or turn upon his pursuing foe and smite and disable him, in order to continue his march. But that foe was a giant of strength and courage equal to his own; and the coming together of two such forces in a final, mighty death struggle meant that a great battle must be fought—a greater battle than this western world had hitherto known.

The Army of the Potomac had again changed hands, and George Gordon Meade was now its master. Hooker, after a dispute with Halleck, had resigned the leadership, and Meade, the strongest of the corps commanders, was appointed in his place. The two great armies were scattered over portions of Maryland and southern Pennsylvania, moving each toward the other, and it was plain that they must soon come together in a contest more terrific than they had yet experienced in their two years' struggle; but just where the shock of battle would take place was yet unknown. Meade had ordered a general movement toward Harrisburg, and he sent General Buford with four thousand cavalry to intercept the advance guard of the enemy. On the night of June 30 Buford encamped on a low hill a mile

west of Gettysburg, and here on the following morning the famous battle had its beginning.

Gettysburg was a quiet hamlet of fifteen hundred people, in Adams County, Pennsylvania, and some twelve miles east of the South Mountain range. West of the village is situated on a ridge running north and south a Lutheran Theological Seminary, and this ridge is called Seminary Ridge. Just south of the town, about a mile from Seminary Ridge and parallel to it, is Cemetery Ridge, which, curving eastward at the village, culminates in Culp's Hill on the bank of Rock Creek.

On the morning of July 1 the two armies were still scattered, the extremes being forty miles apart. But General Reynolds, with three corps of the Union army, was but a few miles away, and was hastening to Gettysburg, while Longstreet and Hill were approaching the town from the west. Buford had opened the battle with Hill's corps. Reynolds soon joined Buford, Longstreet joined Hill, and three hours before noon the battle was on in full force on Seminary Ridge. Reynolds rode out to his fighting lines on the ridge, and here, about ten o'clock, he received a sharpshooter's bullet in the brain, and fell dead. John F. Reynolds, who had been promoted for gallantry at Buena Vista, was one of the bravest and ablest generals of the army. No casualty of the war brought more widespread mourning in the North than the death of Reynolds.

But even this calamity could not stay the fury of the battle. By one o'clock both sides had been greatly reënforced, and the battle line extended north of the town from Seminary Ridge to the bank of Rock Creek. Here for hours the roar of the battle was unceasing. About the middle of the afternoon a breeze lifted the smoke that had en-

veloped the whole battle line in darkness, and revealed the fact that the Federals were being pressed back toward Gettysburg. General Carl Schurz, who commanded the right wing near Rock Creek, leaving nearly half his men dead or wounded on the field, retreated into the town, where the enemy pursued him and captured five thousand of the remainder. The left wing was also forced back, and it took refuge on Cemetery Ridge, which had been selected by General O. O. Howard; and the first day's fight was over. It was some hours yet till night, and had the enemy known of the disorganized condition of the Union troops, he might have pursued and captured a large part of the army. Meade, who was still some miles from the field, hearing of the death of Reynolds, sent Hancock to take general charge until he himself should arrive.

Hancock rode at full speed and arrived on the field at four o'clock. His presence soon brought order out of chaos. His superb bearing, his air of confidence, his promise of heavy reënforcements during the night, all tended to inspire confidence and to renew hope in the defeated army. Had this day ended the affair at Gettysburg, the usual story of the defeat of the Army of the Potomac would have gone forth to the world. Only the advance portions of both armies had been engaged; and yet the battle had been a formidable one. The Union loss was severe. A great commander had fallen, and the rank and file had suffered the enormous loss of ten thousand men.

Meade reached the field late in the night, and chose to make this field, on which the advance of both armies had accidentally met, the place of a general engagement. Lee had come to the same decision, and both called on their outlying legions to make all possible speed to Gettysburg.

Before morning nearly all the troops of both armies had reached the field. The Union army rested with its center on Cemetery Ridge, with its right thrown round to Culp's Hill and its left extending southward to a rocky peak called Round Top. The Confederate army with its center on Seminary Ridge, extending its great wings from Rock Creek on the north to a point opposite Round Top on the south, lay in a grand semicircle half surrounding the Army of the Potomac. But Lee was at a disadvantage. First, Stonewall Jackson was gone, and second, Stuart was absent with his ten thousand cavalry. And further, Meade was on the defensive, and had the advantage of occupying the inner ring of the huge half-circle. Thus lay the two mighty armies—each nearly a hundred thousand strong—awaiting the morning and the dreadful carnage that the day was to bring.¹⁶² It seemed that the fate of the Republic was here to be decided, and the people of the North and of the South awaited with breathless eagerness the decision now about to be made at Gettysburg.

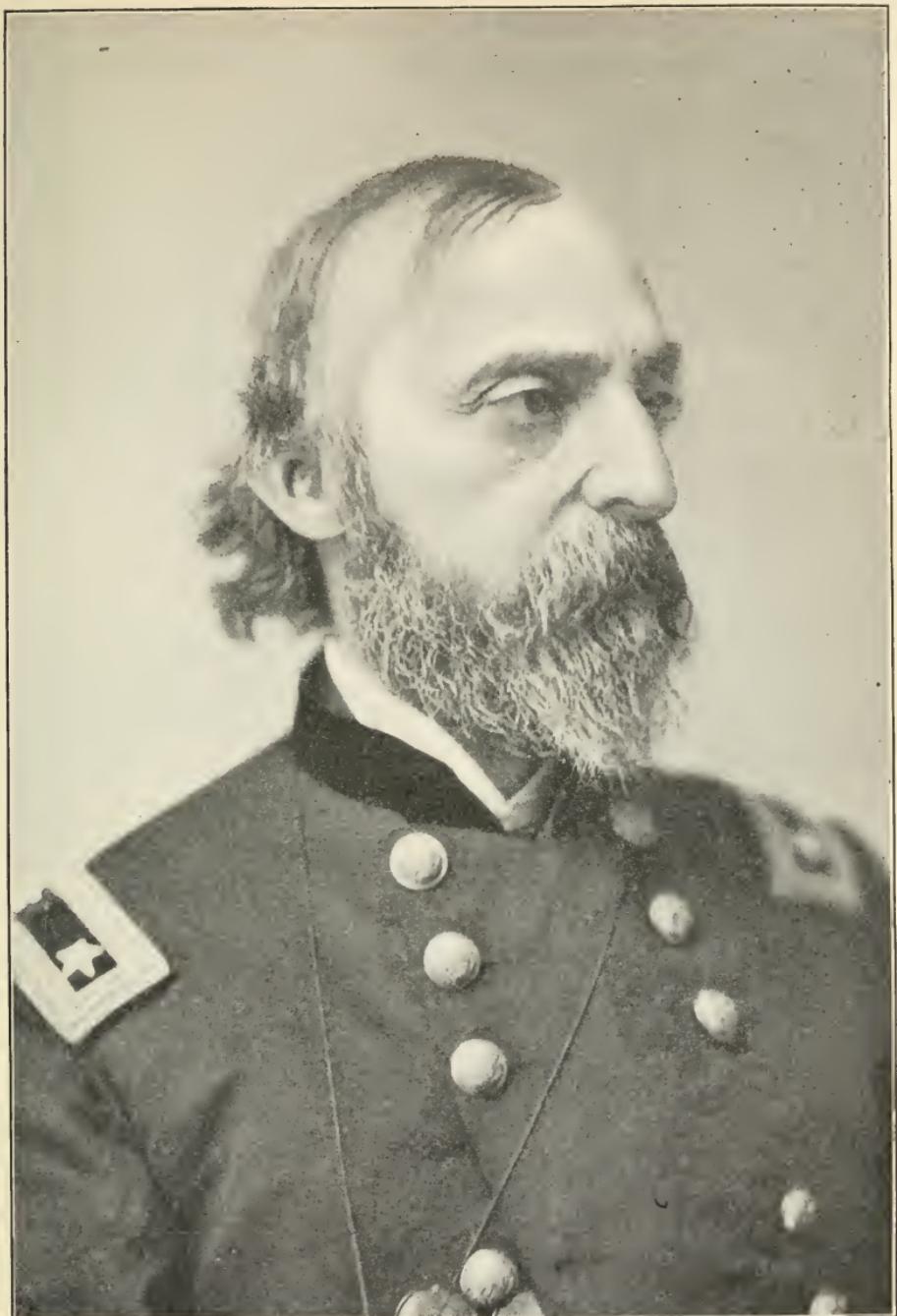
The sky was clear on July 2, and the dawn betokened a beautiful day in southern Pennsylvania. The two armies hesitated, as they were loath to begin the fearful work of slaughter and bloodshed. The hours passed, with a stray shot here and there, till four in the afternoon. General Sickles held the Union left wing at the base of Round Top, and opposite him was Longstreet. At this point occurred the chief fighting of the day. Sickles moved forward half a mile without orders, and found himself face to face with nearly half the Confederate army. Longstreet advanced in a magnificent battle line and opened fire with his batteries.

¹⁶² Livermore gives the fighting strength of Meade's army at 88,289 and of Lee's at 75,000.

Sickles answered, and presently the musketry was opened, at first a few shots, then more and faster, till there was a continuous roll, and no ear could distinguish one shot from another. Sickles was pressed slowly back to the position he had occupied in the morning, and might have been routed but for the arrival of Sykes to his rescue. His lines were still in good order; but of his brave men, thousands lay in the fatal valley, and among them lay the Confederate dead and wounded in almost equal numbers. This valley has been called the Valley of Death.

Meantime General Early made a desperate attack on the Union center from the north, and was repulsed only after a hand-to-hand encounter in which clubs and stones, as well as muskets and bayonets, were used. An attack on Culp's Hill was more successful. Ewell in a fierce encounter of half an hour gained possession of the hill and held it during the night. On this second day of the battle the Confederates had gained an apparent advantage in forcing Sickles back and a real advantage in gaining possession of Culp's Hill. Otherwise the situation was not greatly changed—except that each army had lost about ten thousand men.

On the morning of the third day the people of Gettysburg, which lay between the two armies, were awakened from sleep by the roar of artillery. At daybreak the Union guns were opened on Culp's Hill, and after a bombardment of four hours the hill was carried and the Union lines were re-established where they had been the day before. But the most famous onset of the three days' battle was yet to come—Pickett's Charge on Cemetery Ridge—preceded by the heaviest cannonading ever known on the American continent.



1815—GEORGE GORDON MEADE—1872.

1864.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

After the contest at Culp's Hill and a cavalry fight east of Rock Creek, there was a lull, almost a deep silence, over the whole field. It was the calm that precedes the storm. Lee had been massing artillery on Seminary Ridge, and for two miles the hill bristled with cannon. Lee had determined on a great final charge on the Union center. Longstreet strongly opposed it, believing that it could not succeed; but he protested in vain.

At one o'clock the silence was broken by a terrific outburst from one hundred and fifty guns, and the whole crest of Seminary Ridge was a line of fire. The Union guns were soon in operation, and cannon answered cannon until the hills shook to their foundations.¹⁶³ After an hour and a half the firing gradually slackened and ceased, and the Union army prepared for the more deadly charge of infantry that was sure to follow.

They had not long to wait. Fifteen thousand of Longstreet's corps, the flower of the Confederate army, emerged in a grand double column from the wooded crest of Seminary Ridge under the command of General Pickett. Longstreet, foreseeing the fate of his brave men, had opposed their going, but Lee overruled him. It is said that when Longstreet was asked by his subordinates for final permission to make the attack, he could not speak; he only nodded his head and burst into tears.

The charge was one of the most daring in the history of warfare. The distance to the Federal lines was a mile. For half the distance the troops marched gayly, with flying banners and glittering bayonets. Then came the burst of Federal cannon, and their ranks were torn with exploding

¹⁶³ See my "Side Lights," Series II, Chap. V. I have drawn freely on that chapter in this account.

shells; but the lines reformed and swept on. When they came within musket range Hancock's infantry opened a terrific fire, but Pickett's valiant band only quickened their pace and returned the fire with volley after volley. They rushed to the very mouths of the cannon. The Union line fell back from the shelter of a stone wall, and it seemed for a moment that the Confederates would reach their goal—would capture the works on Cemetery Ridge and split the Army of the Potomac in twain. General Armistead leaped upon the stone wall and waved the Confederate banner in frenzied, momentary triumph. Next instant he fell mortally wounded, and with him fell the hopes of the slaveholder's rebellion—not yet slain, but mortally wounded.

This was the supreme moment of the war. The tide of rebellion could rise no higher; from this point the ebb must begin. Not only here, but in the West the southern cause took a downward turn; for at this very hour of Pickett's Charge, Grant and Pemberton, a thousand miles away, stood under an oak tree on the heights above the rolling tide of the Mississippi and arranged for the surrender of Vicksburg.

Pickett had entered a death trap. Thousands of musket shots at close range were poured into his ranks every minute. The tempest of lead was beyond human endurance. Great numbers fell on the gory field, many surrendered, and the remnant fled, bloodstained and weary, to the waiting lines on Seminary Ridge. The battle of Gettysburg was over. The cost in men was frightful. The losses of the two armies reached fifty thousand, about half perhaps on either side. More than seven thousand men had fallen dead on the field of battle.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Livermore gives these figures: Federals killed, 3,155, wounded,

Lee could do nothing but lead his army back to Virginia. The Federals pursued but feebly. The Union victory was not a very decisive one, but being powerfully supported by the fall of Vicksburg, the moral effect on the nation and the world was great. The period of uncertainty was ended. It required but little prophetic vision now to foresee that the Republic would survive the dreadful shock of arms, and that secession and slavery must perish.

14,529, missing, 5,365; Confederates killed, 3,903, wounded, 18,735, missing, 5,425; total, 51,112.

NOTES

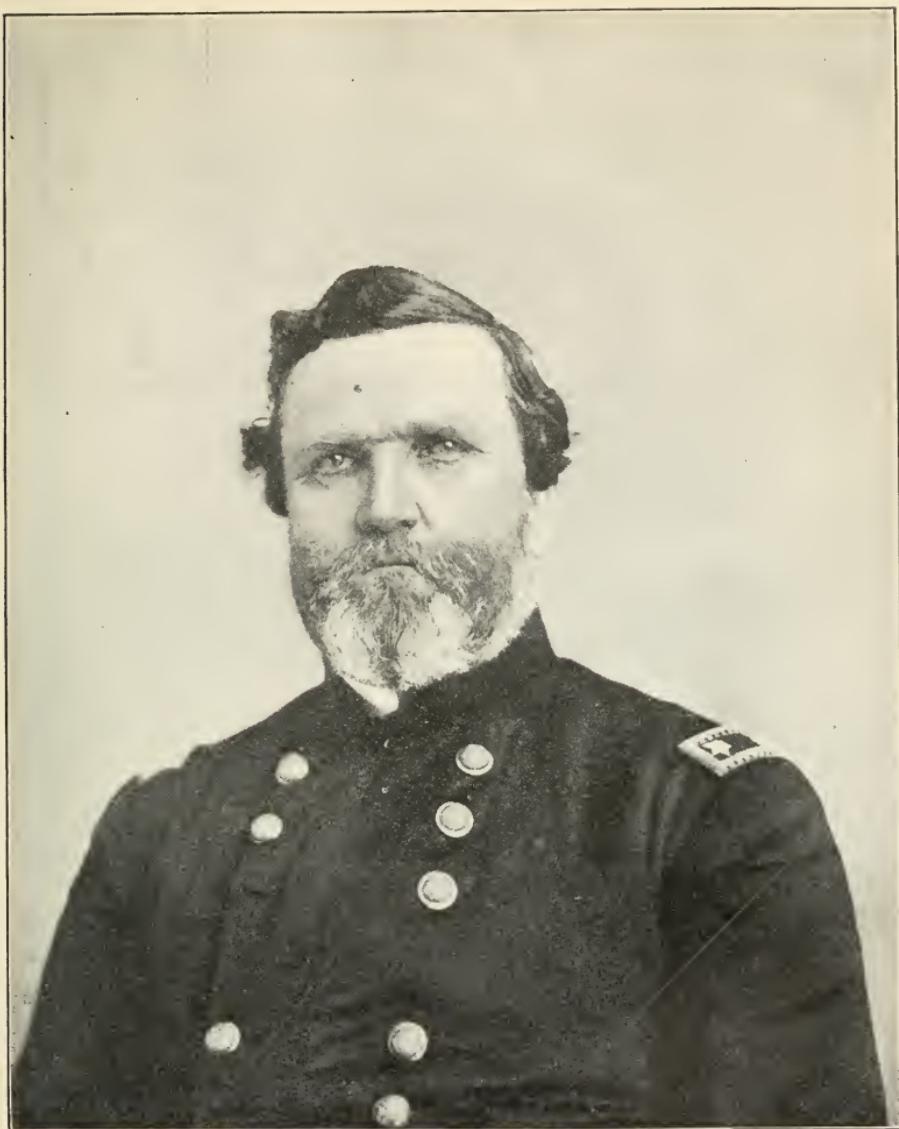
Negro Soldiery.—During the early period of the war while the ranks were kept filled by volunteers, there was little disposition to enlist black men in the service. In July, 1862, however, Congress passed an act for the employment of negroes in camp service, on intrenchment constructing and the like, and another a year later for their enlistment as volunteers. In February, 1864, an act was passed to include the blacks in the national enrollment, and if a slave was drafted, his master received a bounty from the government. Negro soldiery awakened some race prejudice at the North, and much more at the South; but as the war progressed this was largely overcome even at the South. Toward the close of the war many black regiments were raised for the northern armies, and they were conspicuous in the fighting at Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, Mobile, and other places. The South also accepted military service from negroes. The legislature of Tennessee authorized the governor (June 28, 1861) to enlist blacks in the service. The legislature of Virginia discussed a similar bill in February, 1862. In November, 1862, a regiment of fourteen hundred free black troops entered the Confederate service, while in March, 1865, the Confederate Congress passed an act for arming the slaves. See Greeley's "American Conflict," Vol. II, p. 522.

Morgan's Raid.—Of the many cavalry raids during the war the most famous and daring was that of John H. Morgan with four thousand men, in July, 1863. He crossed the Ohio River into Indiana below Louisville. The Indiana militia, called out by the governor, swarmed after Morgan in such numbers that he left the state and entered Ohio. Sweeping past Cincinnati he traversed the southern part of the state,

burning bridges and buildings, stealing horses, and plundering the towns and farms. But there was a band of men in hot pursuit, and the farmers obstructed Morgan's path with felled trees. Attempting to cross the Ohio near Pomeroy, his way was obstructed by gunboats and militia. A sharp battle ensued; Morgan was defeated and fled up the river, leaving six hundred of his men, wounded and prisoners, behind. A few miles further up the raiders again attempted to cross, but here were the pursuers and the gunboats. Morgan lost a thousand of his men and all his heavy guns. Many of his men had perished in attempting to swim the river. Again Morgan, with the remnant, struck the river above Marietta, but he was again prevented from crossing. At length (July 26) he was captured near New Lisbon. Only about four hundred of his band escaped death or capture. Morgan was taken to Columbus and confined in the penitentiary, whence he escaped in November by burrowing under the walls, and found his way back to the South. The following year he was killed in Tennessee. In one of the fights with Morgan the venerable Daniel McCook lost his life. He had given eight sons to the Union armies, four of whom became generals. They were known as "The Fighting McCooks."

The Sanitary and Christian Commissions.—These voluntary organizations did in war times the same kind of noble work as has been done in later years by the Red Cross Society. The Sanitary Commission was organized in the spring of 1861, and the Rev. Dr. H. W. Bellows of New York became its president. More than 7,000 women's auxiliary societies were afterward organized. The people were called on by them to contribute money and articles of usefulness for the soldiers in the field, and especially for those in hospitals. In the course of the war \$15,000,000 worth of articles and \$4,000,000 in money were contributed. The commission followed the armies with its supplies and helpers. For example, after the battle of Antietam the 10,000 wounded lying on the field were for four days in the hands of this commission; and on this one occasion it furnished 28,000 shirts, towels, etc., 30 barrels of lint, bandages, etc., 2,000 pounds of condensed milk, and other things in proportion. In the course of the war it furnished 4,500,000 meals to hungry and wounded soldiers.

The Christian Commission was organized later in the year 1861. George H. Stewart of Philadelphia was its chairman. It sent out over 6,000 delegates without pay. Its work was confined chiefly to supplying religious reading matter and medical supplies. It sent out hundreds of thousands of Bibles, hymn books, magazines, and over 10,000,000 religious tracts. In addition to these organized societies, there were



1816—GEORGE HENRY THOMAS—1870.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

many women who volunteered as nurses, the leader of whom was Miss Dorothea L. Dix. Others of note were Miss Amy Bradley, Mrs. Barlow, and Miss Clara Barton, who in the Spanish War, thirty-five years later, became the head of the Red Cross Society. The women of the South were also devoted to the cause in which they believed, and were even more self-sacrificing than their sisters of the North.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE CIVIL WAR—THE GREAT FINAL DOUBLE MOVEMENT

THE grand twofold movement which ended the war was that carried on by Grant in Virginia and by Sherman farther south; but before treating this we must notice the military movements at

CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA

After the battle of Stone River at the beginning of January, 1863, Rosecrans and Bragg lay for many months near Murfreesborough, each sending out bands of cavalry on destructive raids, but both avoiding a general engagement. Meantime Grant was preparing to invest Vicksburg, as we have seen, and Hooker was battling with Lee in Virginia. Rosecrans's immediate object was to prevent Bragg from joining the forces against Grant near Vicksburg. Near mid-summer he began to move his army toward the vicinity of Chattanooga. Bragg's army was also soon in motion. Chattanooga is situated on the east bank of the Tennessee River in the midst of a vast amphitheater of mountains. Rosecrans passed through the mountain passes south of the town, as if to invade Georgia. Bragg followed him, and here on the banks of a mountain stream, whose Indian name, Chickamauga, is said to signify "River of Death," was fought the most destructive battle of the war thus far, except Gettysburg. The Federal army held two passes through

Missionary Ridge, which lay between the combatants and Chattanooga. Bragg's aim was to defeat Rosecrans, seize these passes, and beat the Federals back to Chattanooga. And he had every hope of success, for Longstreet arrived from Virginia on the evening of the 18th with two of the best divisions of Lee's army. Buckner had come from Knoxville, and Bragg had now nearly seventy thousand men, while Rosecrans had but sixty thousand.

The first day began with heavy skirmishing that grew into a battle, which continued till nightfall. The battle was renewed next morning. The Federals might have held their own but for a sad blunder. Rosecrans sent an order to General Wood which was misunderstood, and in consequence Wood moved his division in such a way as to leave a wide gap in the center of the Union lines. Longstreet, quickly seeing this, poured an overwhelming mass of Confederate troops into the opening. By this movement the entire Union right wing was torn from the rest of the army and swept from the field, and Rosecrans and two of his corps commanders, McCook and Crittenden, were carried away in the mad rush.

But this did not end the day's work. The Union left, some twenty-five thousand men, was commanded by one of the ablest generals of the war, George H. Thomas. On a curving ridge called the Horseshoe he planted his guns and formed his lines. The Confederates, now sure of winning a great victory, swarmed up the slope in great numbers; but Thomas hurled them back with fearful slaughter. Again and again they came, almost the whole Confederate army; but Thomas stood like a wall, and against him the surging enemy dashed in vain. For six long hours the assaults continued, but the Union forces stood their ground

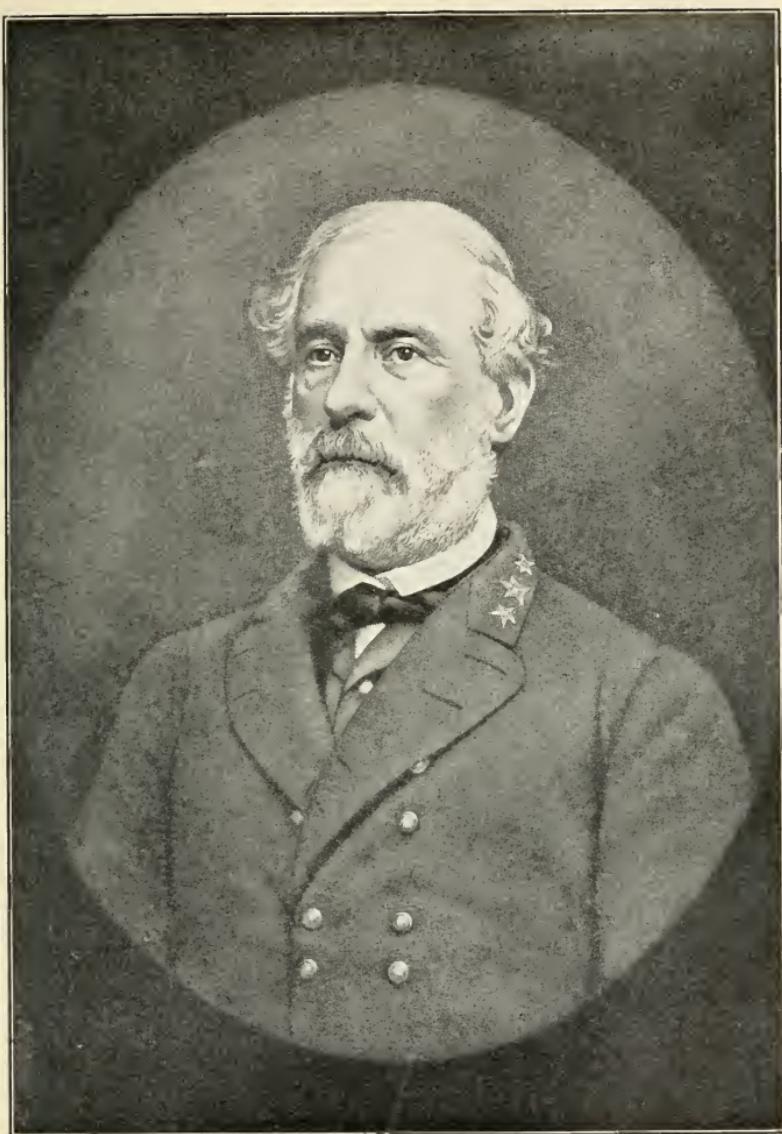
till night, at the cost of ten thousand of their number. The spectacle was one of the grandest in the annals of warfare.¹⁶⁵ Thomas was afterward known as "The Rock of Chickamauga." He withdrew to the mountains during the night, and soon joined Rosecrans in Chattanooga. In this battle the Union army lost about sixteen thousand men and the Confederates above eighteen thousand. It is usually considered a Confederate victory; but Bragg lost the greater number, and failed to gain the passes to Chattanooga.

South of Chattanooga lies Missionary Ridge, a few hundred feet high, extending north and south, while just west of this ridge rises Lookout Mountain, a bold spur three thousand feet above the sea, extending to a great bend of the river.¹⁶⁶ These heights were soon occupied by Bragg, and Rosecrans found himself cooped up in Chattanooga with but one rough mountain road over which to bring his supplies. The situation was growing critical; ten thousand mules and horses died within a few weeks from want of food. The government saw that Rosecrans must be rescued or his army would perish. General Grant was now placed in command of all the forces between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. He chose to go to Chattanooga and take personal charge, while, at his suggestion, General Thomas succeeded Rosecrans. Grant arrived before the close of October; but before he reached his new command Thomas had begun to act on a new plan which proved in the end to be a brilliant conception.¹⁶⁷ This was to seize a low range of hills on the peninsula, made by the bend of the river,

¹⁶⁵ See Fiske, p. 275.

¹⁶⁶ See map on p. 273.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas was indebted for this plan to his chief engineer, General W. F. Smith, who first suggested it.



1807—ROBERT EDWARD LEE—1870.

1863.

From an original negative by Vannerson, Richmond, Va.

opposite Lookout Mountain, and thus to establish a wagon road to a point farther down the river to which supplies could be brought by boat. This line was soon secured, and henceforth the army received all the supplies it needed. But not only supplies; by this same route came General Sherman with the army that had captured Vicksburg, and joined the army under Grant. At the same time Bragg made the unpardonable blunder of weakening his army by sending Longstreet with twenty thousand men to attack Burnside, who had come out from Cincinnati with twenty-five thousand men, and who was then at Knoxville.

Grant now had some eighty thousand men. He sent Sherman with the left wing to make an attack on Missionary Ridge, while Thomas held the center and "Fighting Joe Hooker," who had come from the east, with the Union right approached Lookout Mountain. Sherman encountered unexpected obstacles in the nature of the ground, and his success was not what he had expected; Thomas pressed forward upon Bragg's center and captured Orchard Knob, between Chattanooga and Missionary Ridge, and this became Grant's headquarters next day; while Hooker did the most famous day's work of all.

Hooker had been sent to the base of Lookout Mountain; and he led his men up the rugged slopes, attacked the enemy on the summit, and won a complete victory. During the action the mountain was enveloped in a dense mist and was invisible from the valley below. It has been called "The Battle above the Clouds." The roar of the battle rolling from the invisible summit of the mountain seemed literally to indicate a battle in the sky. Nobly here did Hooker retrieve the prestige he had lost at Chancellorsville.

Next day witnessed the battle of Missionary Ridge. The

whole Union army centered its attention upon this last Confederate stronghold. Hooker hastened from Lookout Mountain to the support of Sherman, and for some hours the fighting was heavy, but the Union troops made little headway. Then Thomas's corps of twenty-five thousand moved against the Confederate center on the ridge overlooking Orchard Knob. The task of carrying the place seemed an impossible one. Along the crest of the ridge stood fifteen thousand veteran soldiers with fifty cannon. But the Union troops ran across the plain and up the slope with a courage equal to that of Pickett's men at Gettysburg—and with a different result. In the face of a galling fire—grape and canister and shell—they rushed on and on, without orders, it is said, leaving hundreds of their number dead and dying on the hillside. But they reached the goal, and a few minutes later the Confederates fled in wild disorder, and the guns they had left behind were turned against them.

Thus ended the campaign of Chattanooga. Bragg's army had been wholly defeated, and, after being pursued for some days by Hooker, it found a resting place at Dalton among the mountains of Georgia.¹⁶⁸ It is a notable fact that this was the only battle in which the four greatest Union generals of the war were engaged,—Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas.¹⁶⁹

Grant then dispatched Sherman to Knoxville to aid Burnside. Longstreet, hearing of his approach, attempted to carry the works by storm; but after a desperate effort in which he lost eight hundred men in half an hour, he gave up

¹⁶⁸ Grant lost about six thousand in killed and wounded. The Confederate loss was over seven thousand, more than half of whom were prisoners.

¹⁶⁹ Fiske, p. 315.

the siege, and, unwilling to meet Sherman, marched his army eastward into Virginia.

The Chattanooga campaign secured to the Union the entire Mississippi Valley. Of the four chief strongholds of the South—Richmond, New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga—three were now in possession of the Union armies.

GRANT IN THE WILDERNESS

During the winter that followed the defeat of Bragg at Chattanooga, the country was comparatively quiet. The armies lay in winter quarters ready for active operations in the spring. That the Confederacy would collapse within the coming year was the general belief, and this feeling was strengthened by the further belief that the "coming man," the "great general," had at last been discovered. The hopes of the country were first centered in McClellan, then in Halleck; but now the steady gaze of the great public turned upon the hero of Donelson and Vicksburg. In February, 1864, Congress revived the grade of lieutenant general, hitherto held only by George Washington and Winfield Scott.¹⁷⁰ As every one knew, it was meant for Grant; and the President promptly sent his name to the Senate, and it was confirmed. Grant came east to receive his new commission, and early in March he was made commander in chief of all the armies of the United States. This would insure the concerted action of the western with the eastern armies. Halleck was nominal commander in chief up to

¹⁷⁰ Scott, however, held it only by brevet. The still higher grade of "general" was conferred on Grant in 1866, and later on Sherman, then Sheridan. These three alone have held this highest military grade in the United States.

this time; but he was weak and incompetent, and his orders often prevented the armies from winning victories. This was now changed, and the armies were henceforth to move at the dictation of one master mind.

Grant was now by far the most popular man in the country, not excepting the President. Crowds followed him about the streets of Washington wherever he went. He is described by one¹⁷¹ who saw him at the time as a "short, round-shouldered man in a very tarnished major-general's uniform. . . . He had no gait, no station, no manner, rough, light-brown whiskers, a blue eye, and a rather scrubby look withal . . . a rather seedy appearance . . . but he had . . . a look of resolution, as if he could not be trifled with, and an entire indifference to the crowd about him."

Grant soon decided on the great twofold movement,—the campaign against Lee in Virginia, led by himself, with Richmond as his goal; and a simultaneous campaign against Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg, led by Sherman, with Atlanta as his goal. Should either or both of these be successful, the downfall of the Confederacy was assured. First we turn our attention to Virginia.

The Army of the Potomac, now almost one hundred and fifty thousand strong,¹⁷² was divided into three corps under Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick, with Meade in immediate command, and Grant in superior command. Sheridan was at the head of the cavalry. Lee's army, in three corps under Longstreet, Ewell, and A. P. Hill, with Stuart as cavalry

¹⁷¹ Richard H. Dana. See Adams's "Dana," Vol. II, p. 271.

¹⁷² This included a division of thirty thousand under Butler on the James River, and Burnside's command, which had been brought from Knoxville.

leader, is said to have numbered sixty thousand. These were the actual bearers of arms; but by the method of counting employed by the Union side (which included teamsters, cooks, musicians, etc., as well as soldiers), these figures must be increased to about seventy-five thousand. These two great armies now entered upon a month's campaign,—the bloodiest and most murderous campaign of the war,—which brought no apparent advantage to either side.

On the 4th of May, 1864, Grant's army crossed the Rapidan, and entered that dreary region of tangled under-brush near Chancellorsville known as the Wilderness.¹⁷³ The battle of the Wilderness proper, as generally understood, continued but two days, the 5th and 6th of May. Grant had no thought of offering battle in this jungle; but Lee considered this his opportunity, and moved his army upon the Federals. Ewell attacked Warren's corps on the morning of the 5th and pressed it back; but it made a stand and joined the Federal left wing under Hancock, and thus, with almost the whole of both armies in action the fight continued till night. Next morning the battle was renewed at an early hour, as both Grant and Lee had determined to take the offensive. Hancock attacked Hill with great fury. Hill was driven back, but Longstreet, who had not been present on the 5th, came to his rescue, and the Federals in turn were driven back. At this point General Wadsworth was killed and Longstreet was dangerously wounded.¹⁷⁴ All along the line the battle raged during the day. Saplings by thousands were cut down, and even large trees

¹⁷³ See map on p. 184.

¹⁷⁴ Longstreet's wound is said to have been received from his own men. It was similar in character to that received by Stonewall Jackson near the same spot a year and three days before.

were felled by the flying missiles. The Federal loss in the two days' battle was more than seventeen thousand; the Confederate loss, not accurately known, was much less, probably twelve thousand.

Four days after the close of this fight in the Wilderness the great battle of Spottsylvania was fought. Grant began his movement toward Spottsylvania Court House, between the enemy and Richmond, on the night of the 6th. It is said that the soldiers, not knowing whether they had suffered defeat or won a victory, as is often true of the rank and file, feared that the movement was to be a retreat back across the Rapidan; but when they found that they were marching toward Richmond, they sent up cheer after cheer. Under McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, respectively, this army had made an attempt on Richmond; but in each case it had retreated after encountering the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee believed that Grant also was now in retreat, but he was soon undeceived. On learning of Grant's destination he made a forced march and reached Spottsylvania before him. Every day there was heavy skirmishing, and on the 9th the brave General Sedgwick, one of the ablest of the corps commanders, was struck in the face by a sharpshooter's bullet and fell dead. Sheridan on the 8th began a cavalry raid around the Confederate army, and in a terrific fight within seven miles of Richmond the ablest cavalry leader of the South, General J. E. B. Stuart, was killed.

The battle of Spottsylvania was fought on the 10th and the 12th of May, both armies resting on the intervening day; and it was on this day that Grant sent his famous dispatch to Washington, declaring his purpose to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The chief feature of the action

on the 12th was the attack by Hancock on a weak position of the enemy called a "salient." He succeeded, and captured four thousand men after great slaughter on each side. Five desperate, fruitless efforts the Confederates made to retake the position. One of these General Lee started to lead in person, but his men refused to advance till he went back beyond the danger line. At a point known as the "death angle" the hand-to-hand fighting, which continued till midnight, was equal to any ever known in war. Men fought from the top of heaps of dead men till their own bodies were added to the pile and others came to take their places. Not a tree or a sapling was left alive and standing. One tree nearly two feet in diameter was literally cut in two by musket balls.

The battle of Spottsylvania was one of the most tremendous of modern times. Had it continued another day, it would have surpassed Gettysburg. Neither side won. The losses, about the same on each side, footed up the frightful total of thirty-six thousand men.¹⁷⁵

For a week now the two armies remained inactive. On the 19th the Confederates under Ewell made a fierce assault on the Union right, but were repulsed. Lee then took up a strong position on the North Anna River; but Grant restrained from an attack, moved toward Richmond, and crossed the Pamunkey but twenty miles from that city. Lee followed and there was heavy fighting nearly every day, but no general engagement. At length they reached the old battleground where McClellan had fought two years before. Lee, on the first days of June, took up a very strong position at Cold Harbor. The only chance to attack him was in front. Grant determined to make an assault. His troops

¹⁷⁵ "Battles and Leaders," Vol. IV, p. 182; Burgess, Vol. II, p. 252.

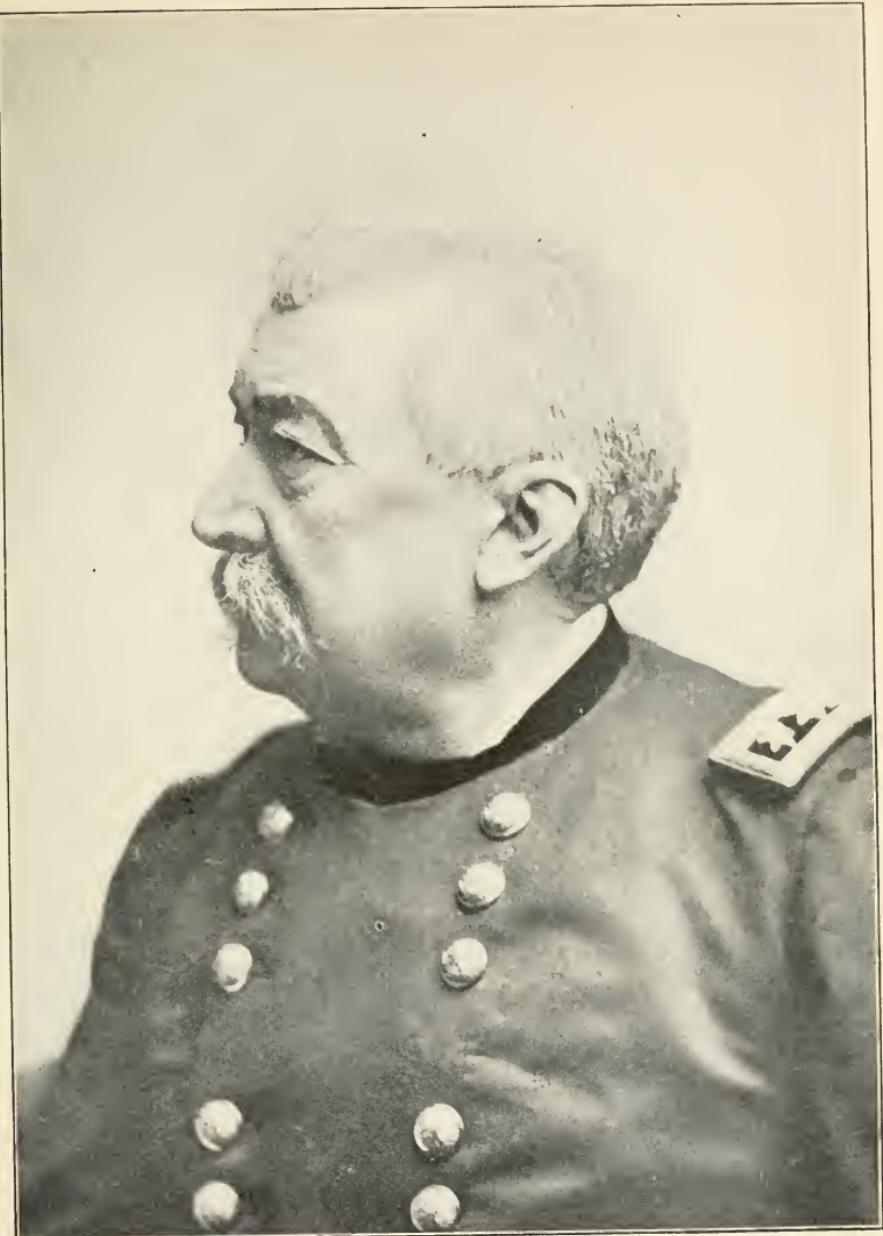
knew that it would be hopeless, that it would mean wholesale murder, and many of them tacked labels to their clothes, giving their names and addresses that their friends at home might learn where and when they died. The result was as expected: the Union men were mowed down in thousands. Not even at Spottsylvania or at Gettysburg was the slaughter more terrible than here. The main assault lasted but half an hour, and it was the bloodiest half hour in American history. About twelve thousand Union men lay dead or writhing on the ground.¹⁷⁶ Ordering this charge was the greatest military error in the life of General Grant, and he frankly acknowledges in his "Memoirs" that he never ceased to regret it.

Grant now determined on a change of base. He decided to cross the Rappahannock and the James to a point below Petersburg, and to approach Richmond from the South. It was exactly this move that Halleck had prevented McClellan from making two years before. Grant made the transfer with consummate skill, but he suffered great losses in attempting to carry Petersburg by storm. By the 20th of June his army was joined by that of Butler on the James.

The Union loss in this campaign, from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, reached the appalling total of nearly sixty thousand men. The Confederate loss was something less than forty thousand.¹⁷⁷ Why this wide difference in numbers? The fact that Lee knew the ground well and Grant

¹⁷⁶ Livermore gives this number as an estimate (p. 114). Swinton says that Grant's loss was twenty times greater than Lee's in this engagement. "Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac," p. 494.

¹⁷⁷ These figures represent the men rendered *hors de combat*, many of whom were captives and were eventually restored to their homes. Neither army had decreased greatly, as both were reënforced from time to time.



1831 — PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN — 1888.

1884.

From an original photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D.C.

did not, may account for it in part, but not in full. Indeed, this may be balanced by the further facts that Grant's generals, if not himself, were familiar with the country and that while his army was well fed the Confederates were in a half-starved condition.¹⁷⁸ If we can rise above all sectional or partisan bias, we must agree with the military critics that Grant was no match for Lee as a strategist. Grant himself practically admits this in his statement that his plan was to keep hammering away and to reduce the enemy's force by mere attrition. Grant, however, grasped the great purpose of the campaign—to destroy the Confederate army and bring the war to a close.¹⁷⁹ If this could not be done by strategy, by outwitting the enemy, there was just one way left—to pound him to death by superior numbers; and this Grant proceeded to do. We deplore the costly mistake at Cold Harbor;¹⁸⁰ we deplore the making desolate of so many thousand homes; but we must not overlook the main object of the war—to save the country even at the sacrifice of the armies. This campaign, however, with all its vast sacrifice of men, had thus far failed. The country was much dissatisfied with Grant, and some urged that McClellan be recalled; but there is no evidence that Mr. Lincoln contemplated doing this. During the long period of inaction that followed, Grant's dispatches did not bear the air of confidence that marked them before he entered the Wilderness. Soon after crossing the James the army made attempts to carry Peters-

¹⁷⁸ Major Eggleston (*Confederate*) relates in "Battles and Leaders" (Vol. IV, p. 231) that his men marched fifty hours from the North Anna without food, when they received three hard biscuits and a very small slice of fat pork. Two days later they received each a single cracker without meat.

¹⁷⁹ Rhodes, Vol. IV, p. 447.

¹⁸⁰ Though it was scarcely a greater mistake than that of Lee in sending Pickett to Cemetery Ridge at Gettysburg.

burg by storm. One of these was by means of a mine which exploded with great violence. But the enemy was on the alert, and every attempt to carry their works was fruitless. Grant then settled down to a long siege, and his army did little active field work till the following spring.

Closely associated with this campaign, or rather, a continuation of it, was that of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. In the hope of relieving Richmond and Petersburg, Lee sent Jubal A. Early with fifteen thousand veterans to threaten Washington. Early drove Sigel out of Martinsburg, occupied Hagerstown, and then turned toward Washington. On July 10 and 11 he was but a few miles from the city and in sight of the Capitol dome. The excitement in the city was great. The President was composed, and made no provision for his personal safety; but a vessel lay waiting in the river, without his knowledge, to take him away in case the enemy should capture the city. Washington was then garrisoned by some twenty thousand raw troops, and there is little doubt that Early could have defeated them and captured the city on the 11th. But for some unknown cause he hesitated, and before night of that day his great opportunity was gone; for in the afternoon two corps sent by Grant had arrived, and the Capital was safe. Early then turned up the valley and sent General McCausland into Pennsylvania. McCausland occupied Chambersburg, July 30, 1864, and demanded a large sum of money on pain of burning the town. The money was not forthcoming, and he carried out his threat. Grant at length appointed Sheridan in command in the Shenandoah Valley. That the Confederate raids along the Shenandoah be prevented in future, Sheridan was instructed to lay waste the valley and destroy everything that would support an army. Sheridan had

shown the mettle of which he was made at Murfreesborough, at Chickamauga, and at Missionary Ridge; and no one doubted that he would do the work assigned him. With nearly forty thousand men he entered the valley, and first met Early at Opequan Creek near Winchester, and a sharp battle ensued. Some weeks then passed with little action, when Lee recalled some of Early's troops, leaving his army scarcely half the size of Sheridan's, and Sheridan saw his chance. The two armies met again on nearly the same spot, and a terrific battle ensued. Sheridan won a clear victory, driving the enemy through the streets of Winchester.¹⁸¹ Three days later the two armies met again at Fisher's Hill, and Early was again defeated, with a loss of twelve hundred men, while Sheridan lost but five hundred. These battles saved Maryland and Pennsylvania from further invasion.

Sheridan's famous raid down the valley began on October 5. He destroyed everything that an enemy might use. He spared the dwellings, but he burned two thousand well-filled barns and seventy mills filled with wheat and flour, and drove before him four thousand head of cattle. Early had meantime been reënforced and was following the Federals, who had encamped at Cedar Creek. The troops were not expecting an attack when, in the misty dawn of the morning, the enemy crept by stealth upon the sleeping army. The Federals sprang to arms, but they had little time to form in line, and in a short time they were defeated. Sheridan had gone to Washington and was then at Winchester, some miles away. Hearing the cannonade, he galloped to the battle field. Meeting his men in flight, he stopped them, saying, "Face the other way, boys; we will go and recover

¹⁸¹ Sheridan's loss was about five thousand, exceeding that of the enemy by about one thousand.

our camps!"¹⁸² With marvelous skill Sheridan went about re-forming his lines and infusing his own spirit into the army. From the moment of Sheridan's arrival the whole current of the movement was changed. The men threw up their hats and leaped and danced for joy.¹⁸³ In a few hours Sheridan had the troops again in fighting trim, and in the afternoon he led them against the enemy. Early was not only defeated, but thoroughly routed, and his army was practically destroyed; and thus ended the war in the Shenandoah Valley.

THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN—MOBILE

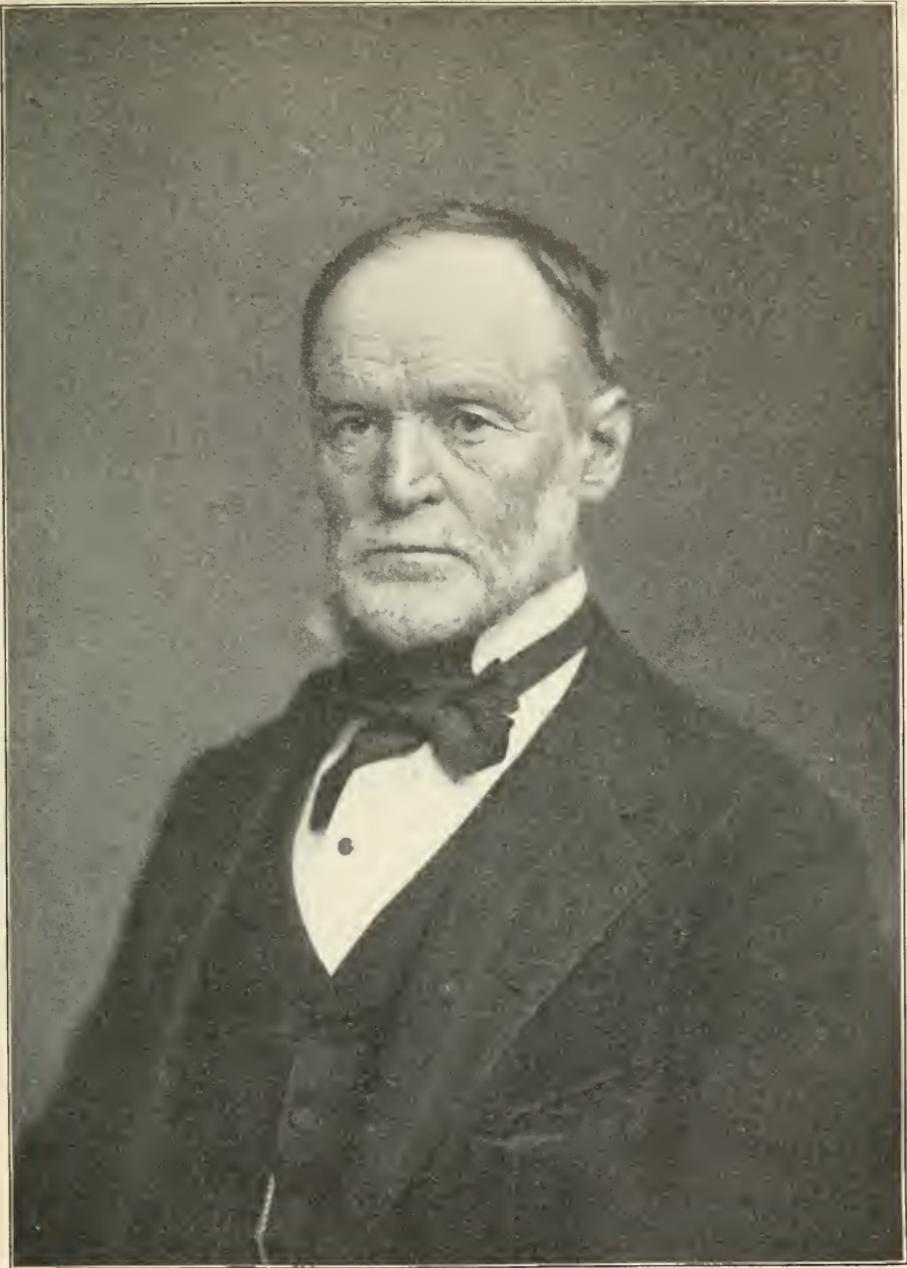
General Grant, on assuming command in the east, had planned for Sherman a campaign against Atlanta, Georgia, an important railroad center and base of military supplies. To carry out this plan Sherman had to penetrate the heart of the Confederacy and cope with the army of J. E. Johnston, which had spent the winter at Dalton. Preliminary to this great move, a portion of Sheridan's army joined with that of Banks and with the fleet of Admiral Porter in an expedition up the Red River. Several severe battles were fought on this expedition, but in the end it played only a small part in the general plan.

The direct line from Chattanooga to Atlanta is only a hundred miles, but the country is rugged, and Johnston was a vigilant, able commander and had sixty-five thousand men in his army. Sherman's army numbered over one hundred thousand, and was in three parts under Thomas, J. B. McPherson, and John M. Schofield.¹⁸⁴ Of this force

¹⁸² Sheridan's "Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 81.

¹⁸³ Davies's "Life of Sheridan," p. 185.

¹⁸⁴ It was the three armies of the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Ohio combined.

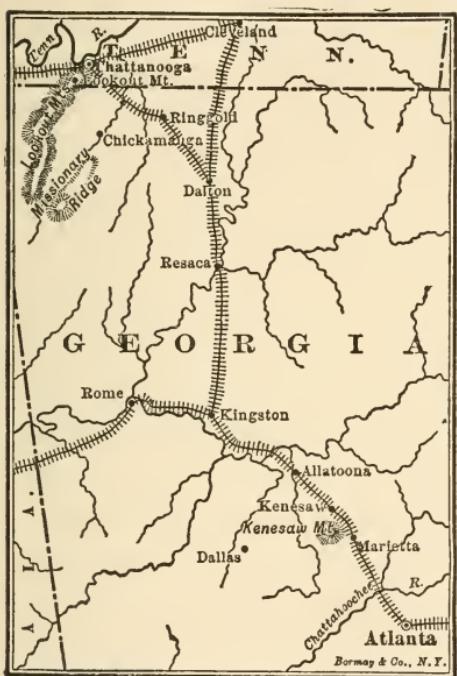


1820—WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN—1891.

1886.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

Sherman, as he progressed, had to leave many to guard his line of supplies to Nashville. Johnston, on the other hand, could keep his entire army with him and use the whole when needed in battle. Sherman began this great march from Chattanooga on the day after Grant entered the Wilderness. Johnston came out of Dalton and intrenched his army at Resaca. Here Sherman stood before him on the



13th of May. For two days there was heavy fighting, but Sherman refrained from a direct attack. His maneuvers, however, were such as to force Johnston to abandon his position and retreat southward. Sherman followed, and the two armies, both moving toward Dallas, met at a little church called New Hope, where a considerable battle was fought, neither side gaining great advantage.

By the end of May each army had lost about ten thousand men. Sherman was nearing his goal; but he found in Johnston a master strategist. There was now heavy skirmishing and artillery firing nearly every day. On the 14th of June General Polk was killed. While standing with Generals Johnston and Hardee on the crest of Pine Mountain, viewing the field through a glass, he was struck squarely in

the breast by a cannon ball, and his body was torn to pieces. As a youth, Polk had graduated at West Point; he then studied theology, and for twenty years before the war he was Episcopal bishop of Louisiana.

The last week of June found Johnston strongly intrenched on Kenesaw Mountain, and here, for the first time in the campaign, Sherman decided to make a front attack on his works. The attempt was a foolish one and must be classed with Pickett's charge at Gettysburg and Grant's at Cold Harbor. And the result was the same: Sherman lost over two thousand men and won nothing. General Daniel McCook was among the killed. Sherman made no more such blunders. He again resorted to his flanking tactics. On the 17th of July he led his army across the Chattahoochee River within a few miles of Atlanta, and on the same day Jefferson Davis made the great mistake of dismissing Johnston because he had "failed to check the advance of the enemy," and placing General John B. Hood in command. The change was a happy one for the Union army; for Hood, though a bold and fearless fighter, was no match as a tactician to the masterly Johnston. Three days after receiving the command Hood left his intrenchments and offered battle in the open field at Peachtree Creek. He was driven back by Hooker with heavy loss. On the 22d Hood again made an attack, and on this day the battle became general all along the lines. Hood was thoroughly defeated, losing probably eight thousand men, while Sherman lost less than half that number. But the Union loss was very great, nevertheless, for General McPherson was killed. He was riding through a wood almost alone when a sharpshooter's bullet pierced his brain and his horse galloped back riderless. McPherson was one of the ablest commanders in the army. He was

the only man whom Grant on going east placed in the same class with Sherman.

Another battle, known as the battle of Ezra Church, took place on the 28th day of July, and Hood was again defeated, with a loss six times as great as that of Sherman. A month more was spent in maneuvering, in raiding with cavalry, and in tightening the coils about Atlanta, where Hood had taken refuge. Finding that he could hold the city no longer, Hood escaped with his army on the night of September 1, and next day Sherman entered and took possession. The campaign had been four months in duration, and the Federal loss in killed, wounded, and missing was about thirty-two thousand. The Confederate loss was probably thirty-five thousand.

While Sherman was maneuvering around Atlanta, Farragut won his famous naval victory in Mobile Bay. This was the most important harbor on the gulf coast, and next to Charleston,¹⁸⁵ the most important on the entire Confederate coast. Here the Confederate blockade runners found a retreat when nearly all other ports were closed to them. The closing of this port was determined on, and Admiral Farragut was intrusted with the perilous task. For months he was preparing and waiting for a land force to coöperate with him. At length the land force arrived under General Gordon Granger, and was landed on Dauphin Island in the mouth of Mobile Bay. The naval battle took place on August 5. Two forts, Gaines and Morgan, guarded the main entrance of the

¹⁸⁵ The summer before had witnessed a determined but unsuccessful effort to capture Charleston, South Carolina, guarded by General Beauregard. General Gilmore and Admiral Dahlgren led the expedition. They captured Fort Wagner on Morris Island, after a long and terrific siege, and reduced Fort Sumter to ruins, but they failed to capture Charleston.

bay, while within the bay lay a line of sunken torpedoes and beyond these a Confederate fleet of gunboats and the powerful ram *Tennessee*, commanded by Admiral Buchanan. Farragut had a fleet of four ironclads and some other vessels. That he might not fall to the deck, if shot, Farragut had himself tied to the mast of his flagship, the *Hartford*, and the fleet steamed into the harbor amid a storm of shot and shell from the two forts and the opposing fleet. One of the Union vessels, the *Tecumseh*, was wrecked by a torpedo and sank with one hundred and thirteen men on board.¹⁸⁶ The forts were soon silenced, and the battle with the Confederate fleet was short and furious. Two of the Confederate gunboats were soon destroyed, a third fled into shallow water and escaped. The *Tennessee* made a brave fight against the whole Union fleet, but at last a fifteen-inch solid shot pierced her armor, and she surrendered. The two forts soon afterward surrendered to Granger; and thus ended the career of the blockade runners in Mobile Bay. The city of Mobile at the head of the bay, however, with its guarding forts, remained in the hands of the Confederates for many months longer. It was surrendered to a Union army of forty thousand men under General Canby in April, 1865.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Politics, like the poor, is always with us. In the midst of the great war came a presidential election. The risk of changing the whole policy of the government at such a time,

¹⁸⁶ A remarkable incident occurred at the sinking of the *Tecumseh*. There was a narrow ladder, the only possible means of escape. When the vessel was about to sink, Captain Craven, her commander, and his pilot met at the foot of this ladder. The pilot stepped aside that the captain might go up first; but the captain said, "After you, pilot," and stepped back. The pilot then ran up the ladder to the deck, and was

when ultimate military victory seemed in sight, was not relished by the friends of the Union and the enemies of slavery. But the civic campaign had its compensations; it was some relief for the great public for a season to take its eyes from the dreadful scenes of carnage, and to witness the familiar scene of the battle of the ballots. In view of the world's present estimate of Abraham Lincoln it seems strange that within his own party there was a powerful opposition to his renomination to the presidency of 1864. But such was the case. Among Lincoln's opposers were such leaders as Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant, Henry Ward Beecher, Thaddeus Stevens, and no doubt a majority of the senators and representatives in Congress. The choice of the opposing faction was Mr. Chase, the secretary of the treasury. Chase was an all-round leader and had proved himself a great financier. In January, 1864, a committee of prominent Republicans issued a circular, known as the "Pomeroy Circular," named from the chairman, Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, attempting to show that it were better for the country if Chase instead of Lincoln be chosen President. The ground of objection to Lincoln was that he was too slow and too conservative in dealing with the rebellion and with the slavery question, nor was his plan of reconstruction, to be noticed later, pleasing to the leaders in Congress. No doubt the President was disturbed by this movement, but his outward calm was unbroken. With admirable magnanimity he said concerning the Chase movement: "I have determined to shut my eyes, so far as possible, to every thing of the sort. . . . If he (Chase) becomes President, saved. But he was the last; the ship sank, and the chivalrous Captain Craven went down with his crew and was lost.

all right. I hope we may never have a worse man."¹⁸⁷ Lincoln's strength lay with the masses of the people, who had learned to trust him and to recognize his great ability in managing the war. Chase was anxious for the nomination, and, with well-feigned reluctance and with the usual coyness, gave his name to the movement. When, however, the Republicans of the legislature of his own state, Ohio, held a caucus and declared for Lincoln, Chase thought it wise to withdraw from the canvass, and did so. Other states followed the example of Ohio, and long before the convention it was a foregone conclusion that Lincoln would be renominated.

But there was in the Republican party an extremely radical faction that refused to abandon its hostility to Lincoln, and when his nomination was seen to be assured, this faction called a convention to meet at Cleveland, Ohio, to name its own candidate. It nominated John C. Frémont, who a few days later came out with his letter of acceptance, in which he denounced the administration, and hinted that he would retire from the contest if the coming Republican convention would select any candidate other than Lincoln.

The Republican convention met in Baltimore on the 7th of June, and the name "Union" was substituted for "Republican" to accommodate the war Democrats that were acting with the party. The platform pronounced in favor of putting down the rebellion without compromise, and of an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery forever in the United States. It also approved the administration of Lincoln in vigorous terms, and pledged the national faith for the payment of the public debt. Lincoln was nominated on the first ballot amid great enthusiasm. He received the votes

¹⁸⁷ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. VIII, p. 316.

of all the delegates except those from Missouri, who voted for General Grant.

The choosing of a candidate for the vice presidency brought a contest. It was generally conceded that a war Democrat should be selected, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was chosen, for two reasons: First, the choice would "nationalize" the Republican party, which had hitherto been considered sectional, and second, it would have a salutary effect on the nations of Europe. By thus choosing the second highest official in the land from the heart of the Confederacy, an impression would be made on foreigners that the country was simply dealing with a rebellion and was not in reality divided. The choice of Johnson as his running mate was favored by Lincoln, as was disclosed many years later.¹⁸⁸ He made his wishes known to a few friends, who had much influence in shaping the action of the convention.

The weeks that followed the Republican convention were marked by great discontent throughout the country. The people were weary of the long war, which seemed less hopeful now than the year before after the victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Two attempts at reconciliation had been made, without success. President Davis, approached on the subject, declared that he would listen to no overtures for peace except on the ground of southern independence. Lincoln had said with equal decision that the war could end only on the ground of a restored Union and the abolition of slavery. The gloom of the northern people was great. The public mind dwelt on the failure of Grant's campaign before Richmond, the awful slaughter at Spottsylvania and Cold

¹⁸⁸ See McClure's "Lincoln and Men of War Times," Appendix. Vice President Hamlin received 150 votes on the first ballot.

Harbor, the defeat at Kenesaw Mountain, the death of the noble McPherson, and the threatening of Washington by the army of Early.

There was, furthermore, great dissatisfaction with Lincoln. Nearly all the leaders of the party believed that the convention had made a serious mistake in renominating him, and there was a loud cry for a new convention and a new ticket. "Mr. Lincoln is already beaten. . . . He cannot be elected," wrote Greeley. Thurlow Weed wrote Seward that the election of Lincoln was impossible. The chairman of the Republican national committee, Henry J. Raymond, informed the President that there was but one voice from all sides, "the tide is setting strongly against us." Lincoln fully believed that he would be defeated, and his unselfish soul was shown by a private memorandum stating that it would be his "duty to so coöperate with the President elect to save the Union between the election and the inauguration."¹⁸⁹

All this convulsion took place in Republican ranks before the meeting of the Democratic convention. This convention met in Chicago on August 29. Governor Seymour of New York was its permanent chairman, and Vallandigham one of its leading spirits and the writer of its platform. The platform in substance pronounced the war a failure and demanded that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, that a convention of all the states be held, to the end that peace be restored on the basis of a restoration of the Union. On the first ballot General McClellan was nominated for President, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio was nominated for Vice President.

The Democratic platform was very weak in its two main

¹⁸⁹ See Nicolay and Hay, Vol. IX, p. 251.

points : its pronouncing the war a failure,¹⁹⁰ and its call for a conference with the Southern states to treat for peace on the basis of a restored Union. The first did not take account of the sentiment of the vast number of northern families from which a father, a husband, or a brother was serving in the ranks or had filled a soldier's grave. How could these admit that the war had been a failure and that their loved ones had fought and died in vain? The second did not take account of the fact that the South was still defiant and hostile, that it had recently declared through its President that it would treat for peace on no ground except that of separation. And yet, on these two points the Democrats had laid down the gauge of battle, and on these the people must decide the election.

Scarcely had the Chicago convention completed its work when a reaction set in in favor of Lincoln. Frémont withdrew from the contest in his favor, and the leaders were inspired to renewed efforts. The pithy phrase of Lincoln that it was "not best to swap horses when crossing a stream" touched a popular chord. But this was not all. The news from the front was suddenly changed in complexion. First came the report of Farragut's great victory in Mobile Bay; this was followed early in September by the news of Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and a few weeks later came the thrilling account of Sheridan's terrible devastation in the Shenandoah Valley, which insured henceforth the safety of the capital. "Is the war a failure?" tauntingly asked the Republicans ; and the Democrats could make no satisfactory answer. The autumn state elections added another to the unerring signs that pointed to a victory for Lincoln. The

¹⁹⁰ This item of the platform McClellan practically set aside in his letter of acceptance; but the letter had little effect on the campaign.

election was held on November 8, and Lincoln electors were chosen in all the states except three, New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky, he receiving 212 electoral votes to 21 for McClellan. The meaning of this voice of the people was twofold,—that the Union must be restored at all hazards, and that slavery in the United States must be no longer.

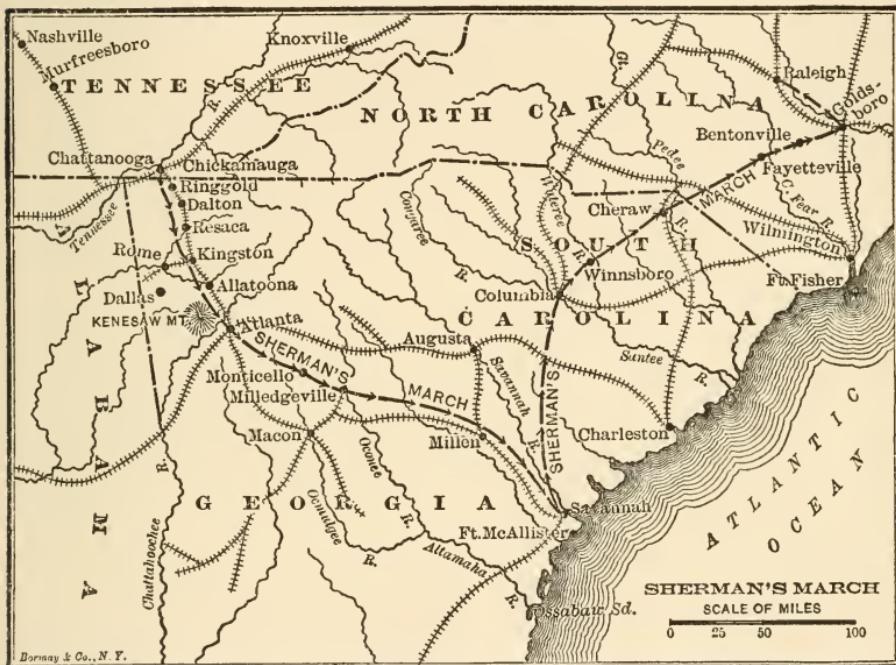
THE FINAL WORK OF THE ARMIES

We left Sherman at Atlanta, where he remained for six weeks, sending the residents out of the city and making it a purely military center. Hood hovered around with his army for some weeks, fighting several small engagements, and then determined to move northward into Tennessee. By this move he expected to draw Sherman after him and thus to force him to abandon all he had gained in the campaign against Atlanta; or, in case Sherman did not follow, Hood felt that he would defeat any force that he might encounter, after which he would march into Kentucky and then deflect eastward and join Lee against Grant in Virginia.¹⁹¹ But Sherman, after pursuing Hood as far as Gaylesville, Alabama, left Thomas with an army to take care of him, and returned and prepared for his great march from Atlanta to the sea.

Receiving permission from General Grant to do as he thought best, Sherman, after destroying the machine shops and other public property in Atlanta, set out, November 15, on his historic march. The army was sixty-two thousand strong, with General O. O. Howard in command of the right wing and General Henry W. Slocum of the left, while Judson Kilpatrick was at the head of the cavalry. There were sixty-five heavy guns, six hundred ambulances, and twenty-

¹⁹¹ See "Battles and Leaders," Vol. IV, p. 426.

five hundred wagons, each drawn by six mules. The army was instructed to march by four roads as nearly parallel as could be found, to begin marching at seven o'clock each morning, and to cover fifteen miles each day. The soldiers were permitted to forage freely, but not to enter private houses. All railroads and public property that might aid the Confederate armies were to be destroyed. The distance to



the sea was about three hundred miles; the swath cut by the army was from forty to sixty miles wide. But little opposition was encountered in the march, and it was play compared with the campaign of the past summer against Atlanta. By the middle of December the army came in sight of the sea, reduced Fort McAllister, opened communication with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet, and made ready to besiege Savannah. General Hardee, who held the city, evacuated it by night, and

Sherman entered it on the 21st of December. He then sent President Lincoln the well-known dispatch, "I beg to present to you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." Thus after nearly four years in the possession of the Confederates, this old historic city of the Revolution, where Pulaski had fallen, came again into the hands of the Federal government.

General Thomas, as we have noticed, had been sent to Tennessee to deal with Hood. Sherman left Thomas but twenty-seven thousand men, retaining to himself more than twice that number for the easier task of marching to the sea. Hood's force consisted of forty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry under Forrest. Had Thomas been beaten by Hood the blame would have fallen on Sherman, and the country would have severely condemned him for leaving Thomas with an insufficient force. Thus the status of Sherman's name in history rested with Thomas. With many a commander the risk would have been greater, but Thomas was the Rock of Chickamauga. He occupied Nashville, where he was joined the last of November by General A. J. Smith with fourteen thousand men from Missouri, and by some nine thousand stragglers and colored troops, raising his army to over fifty thousand men. But this did not excuse Sherman, for if Hood had not been delayed three weeks in Alabama, waiting for supplies, he would have struck the Union army before it had been reënforced. Hood was now moving rapidly toward Nashville, where Thomas held the main army. Schofield, however, had been sent with two corps to retard the enemy, and he retreated before him to Franklin, Tennessee, where he took a strong position and

stood for battle. Here Hood made an attack on the afternoon of November 30. With the valor of desperation the Confederates assaulted again and again, continuing till midnight. They lost several generals and six thousand men; but they failed to dislodge Schofield's army or to inflict upon it half the loss they had themselves sustained. Soon after midnight the Union army continued its march and by noon of the next day it had joined the main army at Nashville. Hood was soon in front of Nashville with his challenge to battle. Thomas waited, and two weeks passed. Lincoln and Grant became very impatient lest Hood escape, and they threatened to remove Thomas if he did not strike. Strange that they did not know the man better. Thomas replied that he could not get ready sooner, and, if relieved, he would "submit without a murmur." On December 9 he was ready; but then came a freezing rain and he decided to wait for a thaw. Grant now lost patience and determined to go to Nashville in person. Arriving at Washington he received a dispatch from Thomas stating that he would attack the next day.

Thomas's tactics at Nashville were perfect. The city, situated within a great double curve of the Cumberland River, is inclosed on the south by a chain of low hills. On these Thomas held his army facing the enemy. His plan was to threaten and hold the enemy's right, and swing his own right, as on a pivot, and overwhelm the enemy's entire left wing. The plan was eminently successful. Hood was pressed back with heavy losses. The next day the battle was renewed, and before nightfall the Confederate army was utterly demoralized, routed, and in full flight. Hood escaped across the Tennessee with scarcely half his force. He could not rally; his army was practically destroyed. The defeat

was the most decisive one suffered by any army in a general engagement in the whole war. And it is said that the plan of Thomas is the only one of the Civil War that is now studied as a model in the military schools of Europe.¹⁹² The power of the Confederacy was now destroyed west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The opening of the year 1865 found General Grant in the trenches before Petersburg and Sherman at Savannah. The next plan was that Sherman should move northward through the Carolinas to the aid of Grant in crushing Lee and ending the rebellion. He had already marched four hundred miles from Chattanooga, and a greater distance yet lay before him. Since leaving Atlanta his army had diminished but little, and it was fully sixty thousand strong when he left Savannah on the 1st of February.

Before this march began, however, and preliminary to it, the capture of Wilmington, North Carolina, was decided on. This was the last opening the Confederacy had to the outside world, and it was guarded by Fort Fisher. About the middle of December, 1864, Admiral Porter approached this fort with a strong fleet, and soon reduced it to ruins; but the garrison was overpowered only after a desperate assault by a land force under General Terry, whom Grant had sent to the aid of Porter. This closed the mouth of the Cape Fear River, shut the Southern states out from the world, and thus completed the blockade proclaimed by Lincoln in April, 1861.

Sherman's march from Savannah was far more difficult than his more famous march from Atlanta to the sea; for now he had to cross the rivers instead of following their courses (and most of the bridges were destroyed), and he found more opposition from the enemy. There were also

¹⁹² McClure's "Lincoln and Men of War Times."

vast swamps and marshes to be crossed. The right wing of the army was still commanded by Howard and the left by Slocum. At Orangeburg a slight battle was fought, and another before Columbia, the enemy being led by General Wade Hampton. Columbia surrendered on February 17, Hampton escaping after setting fire to five hundred bales of cotton. The fire soon spread, and a large part of the town was consumed.¹⁹³ Charleston was also abandoned by the Confederates, who, on leaving, set fire to the great stores of cotton. The flames spread until the greater part of the city was laid in ashes. Sherman moved on, without touching Charleston, toward Goldsboro. The opposing forces were again in command of Johnston,¹⁹⁴ who was defeated in a sharp battle at Bentonville. On the 23d of March Sherman occupied Goldsboro, where he was joined by Schofield, who had been sent with a force from Thomas's army at Nashville, and Terry, who had captured Fort Fisher. Sherman was then in a position to coöperate with Grant. Meanwhile Stoneman was sent with his cavalry to destroy the railroad from Virginia to Tennessee, and thus cut off from Lee an important source of supplies.

Another attempt had been made to bring about peace. A. H. Stephens and others met Mr. Lincoln and Secretary Seward at Fortress Monroe, February 3, in a long conference. But as Lincoln refused all overtures except on the basis of a restored Union and the abolition of slavery, the

¹⁹³ Mr. J. F. Rhodes in an article in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. VII, p. 485 sq., gives as his opinion that Columbia did not take fire from the burning cotton, but was set on fire by drunken soldiers, negroes, and escaped prisoners.

¹⁹⁴ Lee had been made commander in chief by act of the Confederate Congress (January 19), and it was he that reappointed Johnston, against the wishes of President Davis, who greatly disliked Johnston.

conference came to nothing. He declined absolutely to treat with the Confederacy as a government, and the Southerners went back and did everything in their power to "fire the southern heart."¹⁹⁵

The days of the Confederacy were almost run. Atropos was ready to cut the thread. The coils of the Union army were tightening around Petersburg and Richmond. Lee had been empowered to treat for peace, and on March 3 he made overtures to Grant. But Grant, after receiving instructions from Washington, answered that this power belonged to the President alone. Lee then informed Davis that Richmond could hold out but a little time, and it was decided that Lee should lead his army toward Danville and make a junction with Johnston. But first Lee decided to make an assault on Grant's lines. He sent General J. B. Gordon to attack Fort Stedman, and the attack was made with great vigor. But Grant had expected just such an attack, and had prepared for it. His artillery opened on Gordon's men, and half of them were cut down, many were made prisoners, and the rest fled in disorder.

Grant's object was to prevent the escape of Lee southward. He sent Sheridan with his cavalry to Five Forks, a few miles from Petersburg, to try to gain the Confederate rear. Here Sheridan met a strong force, which was soon increased by Pickett with seven thousand men, and Sheridan was pressed back to Dinwiddie Court House. But Grant sent Warren to his aid, and a desperate battle followed, resulting in the utter rout of the Confederates, five thousand

¹⁹⁵ Mr. Stephens, in trying to induce Lincoln to treat with the Confederacy, cited the case of Charles I of England treating with his rebellious subjects. Lincoln answered: "I am not strong on history. I depend mainly on Secretary Seward for that. All I remember about Charles is that he lost his head."

of whom were captured. Never did Sheridan display his powers better than at Five Forks.

It is sad to relate that the war continued another day after Five Forks. Why should another life have been sacrificed when the outcome was so easy to foresee? It is no credit to Lee¹⁹⁶ and Davis that they again pitted this faithful, obedient army against an antagonist now three times its size. Grant had ordered a general assault at Petersburg all along the line, to begin at daybreak on Sunday, April 2. The Confederates met it as only brave men could. Hundreds were slain on each side. Long before night the battle was over and Grant had taken twelve thousand prisoners.

On that Sunday morning, as Jefferson Davis sat in his pew at church, an officer walked up the aisle and handed him a telegram from Lee. Davis opened it and read, "Richmond must be evacuated this evening." Concealing his feelings, he rose and left the church. Calling his Cabinet together, he hastened to pack the archives of the government and to board a train for the southward. The fatal news spread through the city and the scene during that afternoon, the coming night, and the next day was such as no pen can describe. All social order was destroyed to its foundations. Many left the city, but the great majority could not do so. The nine ships building in the river were set on fire, and so were the bridges and the great tobacco and cotton warehouses. The arsenal was also fired, and the thousands of bursting shells sounded like an artillery battle. Barrels of liquor were emptied into the streets, and hundreds of the rabble became intoxicated; and these, joined by the convicts

¹⁹⁶ And yet the calm letter that Lee wrote Davis on April 2, discussing the methods of recruiting the army, etc., would indicate that he had no thought that the end was near. See Nicolay and Hay, Vol. X, p. 183.

from the penitentiary, ran howling like demons through the streets. The fire spread to the city, and seven hundred buildings were soon in flames, and the crash of falling walls was added to the general pandemonium. The people rushed from their homes to the streets and to Capitol Square with the few effects they could carry. Such was the condition of Richmond on the 2d and 3d of April, 1865,—the proud city on the James that had defied the Union armies for four years. On the 3d the Union troops entered the city, and in a few days order was in some degree restored.¹⁹⁷

Lee thought only of escape with his army, but at every turn he found Grant's troops planted in the way. Grant denied himself the pleasure of entering the conquered city. He determined to capture Lee's army then and there. Lee reached Amelia Court House, some thirty miles from Richmond; but here he found that his expected train of supplies had gone on to Richmond; and his starving army had to stop a day to forage. This enabled Sheridan to pass around him and gain his front. Lee then attempted to march around the Federal left toward Lynchburg. Grant divided his army into three parts, placing one part north of Lee, another south, a third in direct pursuit, while Sheridan with the cavalry was sent to his front. Ewell's corps and Pickett's division were soon cut off and forced to surrender. Lee's army, now cut down to thirty-five thousand men, was in a deplorable condition; but it fought a fierce battle to gain the bridge across the Appomattox, succeeded, and hurried on toward Lynchburg. But Sheridan's cavalry and Ord's infantry were again planted in the way. There was nothing left but surrender, and the despairing Confederates raised the white

¹⁹⁷ President Lincoln visited Richmond on April 4, while the fires were yet burning.

flag. This was the 9th of April. Grant had demanded a surrender on the 7th. Lee offered to treat for peace, but Grant had no authority to do this. The great commanders met at the house of a Mr. McLean at Appomattox Court House, and Grant wrote out the terms of surrender: the army, officers and men, were to be released on parole, not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged; the officers were to retain their side arms, baggage, and horses. To this Lee agreed, and Grant then generously added that the private soldiers might also retain their horses, as "they would need them in their spring plowing." Grant refused to permit his army to fire a salute in honor of their victory. Lee informed Grant that his men were in a starving condition, and the latter ordered that they be fed from his supplies. The number of men surrendered was 28,231, not counting the thousands who had deserted or had been captured during the preceding weeks.

When Johnston learned that Lee had surrendered, he saw that his hour had come. He therefore sought Sherman, and the two agreed on terms of surrender; but Sherman exceeded his authority in attempting to arrange the future relations between the seceded states and the national government.¹⁹⁸ His action was disapproved at Washington; he so informed Johnston, and prepared for further hostilities. But Johnston was willing to accept the terms granted Lee at Appomattox. The two generals met again on April 26, and the surrender was effected.¹⁹⁹ A week later all the remain-

¹⁹⁸ Grant had also exceeded his authority in granting full amnesty to all of Lee's army. But in the general rejoicing this was overlooked. Sherman acted in perfect good faith, nor did he deserve the abuse heaped upon him by Stanton and others on account of his mistake.

¹⁹⁹ Johnston's surrender, made at Durham's Station, Virginia, included all his military department, some thirty-seven thousand men.

ing Confederate forces east of the Mississippi were surrendered by General Richard Taylor, and on May 26 E. Kirby Smith surrendered the last Confederate army west of the Mississippi—and the great tragedy of the Civil War was at an end.

A grand review of the Union armies took place in Washington on May 24 and 25, when sixty-five thousand men marched through the streets. The parade was viewed by the highest civil and military officials of the nation. But the one on whom, above all men, the marching veterans would have loved to cast their eyes,—the one who, more than any of the commanders in the field or on the sea, had attracted the world's notice and the nation's love,—this one was not there.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF LINCOLN

The most atrocious murder in American annals was committed on the night of April 14, 1865, in the city of Washington, when the great war President suffered death at the hands of an assassin. The day had been one of rejoicing throughout the land over the prospects of early peace. It was the fourth anniversary of the fall of Fort Sumter. A great celebration had taken place at Charleston, and General Robert Anderson had raised over the ruined walls of the fort the identical flag that he had been forced to haul down four years before. The country was settling down to the serene happiness of peace, and none was happier than the President, who looked forward to four years of comparative rest in his great office. But his duties were still arduous, and on the 14th, after a long session of the Cabinet, after meeting many officials and doing much business, he sought

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18-25 125
25-35 175
35-45 225
45-55 275
55-65 325
65-75 375
75-85 425
85-95 475
95-105 525
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diversion by attending the theater. He was a little late, and the play had begun, but when the President entered a private box, the acting stopped for the moment and the audience rose and cheered. The play was then resumed, and it continued till a few minutes after ten o'clock, when the audience was startled by the sharp report of a pistol. The President was shot by an assassin, who then leaped from the private box to the stage, dramatically brandished a dagger before the audience, cried, "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*,"²⁰⁰ ran down the back stairway, leaped upon a horse held in waiting, and galloped away in the darkness. The assassin was John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was at the head of a plot to murder the chief officials of the government. At the moment he entered the theater one of his accomplices, Lewis Payne, entered the chamber of Secretary Seward, who had been seriously hurt by being thrown from his carriage, and, after a desperate fight with Mr. Seward's son and other attendants, stabbed the secretary several times and then made his escape after having inflicted terrible wounds on five persons.²⁰¹

Mr. Lincoln was shot through the brain. His head fell forward and his eyes closed, but he uttered no sound. The audience was stupefied with horror at the appalling tragedy, and few thought of attempting to apprehend the murderer till he had made his escape.²⁰² The President was carried to a house across the street, and physicians were summoned. He continued to breathe through the night, but he did not recover consciousness. At a few minutes past seven o'clock

²⁰⁰ The state motto of Virginia.

²⁰¹ All recovered. Mr. Seward's son, Frederick, did not recover consciousness for several weeks.

²⁰² Colonel Rathbone, who sat by the President's side, leaped to catch the assassin, and was terribly slashed in the arm with the dagger.

on the morning of the 15th, as the physicians and members of the Cabinet were standing about the bed, the breathing ceased and the great life was over. Stanton first broke the silence by saying, "Now he belongs to the ages."²⁰³ The people mourned their great dead as never before in American history. The funeral train passed through the chief cities of the East, taking nearly the same route by which Mr. Lincoln had come to Washington in 1861. At every stopping place the remains were viewed by silent, mourning thousands, many of whom had come hundreds of miles to pay their last respects to their beloved President. The body was carried to Springfield, Illinois, the President's home, and there on the 4th of May it was laid to rest.

From the time of Lincoln's death until the present his fame has been rising. He is at this day considered not only America's ablest President, but also one of the most powerful world figures in history. His name alone stands co-ordinate with that of Washington in the history of his country. His achievements were two,—either of which would embalm his name forever in history,—the destruction of slavery and the preservation of the Union. His motives in striking at the evil of slavery were the same as those held by millions of his countrymen,—the belief that no man has a right to enslave his fellow-man, and that slavery was a political evil and a drawback to civilization. But his motives in saving the Union were higher than those of most men. Others of the North rushed to arms in 1861 because they loved the Union and would not have it divided. Lincoln grasped the subject in its larger sense. He saw that the principle of democracy, of self-government, was at stake, that the welfare of the "whole family of man" was wrapped up in

²⁰³ Nicolay and Hay, Vol. X, p. 302.

the issue. These two great ends could not have been achieved by Lincoln but for the powerful and loyal nation at his back, and millions must share the honors of the victory; but as he was at the helm of the ship when the breakers came, as it was his masterly skill that guided the vessel and kept his subordinates employed, each in his proper place, it is only just that the chief glory of weathering the storm should fall to him.

No one now questions that Lincoln was a very great man; but it is not easy to point out the qualities in which he was great. Certainly he did not generally impress his immediate associates with his powers, and it is a strange fact that his own Cabinet was longer in discovering those powers than were the masses of the people. Many did not realize what a vast man he was until after he was gone; then the consummate skill with which he had managed affairs in that critical period began to appear; and to this day the deeper one studies into the words and acts of Lincoln the greater he seems. His greatest quality was perhaps his ability to read public opinion, and few public men have ever enjoyed a fuller confidence of the masses. He not only led the people to believe in his sincerity of purpose and his wisdom, but he had a profound belief in the correctness of his own judgment.²⁰⁴ He was a man of infinite tact and patience, and his great kindness of heart impressed itself upon all who were about him.²⁰⁵

No one attempts to explain the origin of the genius of Lincoln. No character in history has proved a greater sur-

²⁰⁴ Blaine, Vol. I, p. 547.

²⁰⁵ While not devoted to any particular creed, Lincoln was deeply religious at heart, and his reverence for God is shown in almost every state paper that he wrote.

prise to the world. "Only America has produced his like," says a British historian.²⁰⁶ Born among the lowliest of the lowly, trained in the merciless school of adversity and penury, he rose in public life and became the leading American of his time. Entering upon his great office at the moment when the forces of freedom and of slavery were ready to grapple in deadly conflict, he grasped the reins of government with a master hand; and but for his consummate ability, many believe the Union could not have been saved.

In the life of Lincoln we find a series of contradictions. He was untrained in the art of oratory, yet an audience would listen unwearied as long as he chose to speak. He never studied logic nor the arts of casuistry, yet his speeches on the slavery question were the most concise, logical, and unanswerable produced by that generation of eloquence. In literature he was unversed, yet in his Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural address are literary gems that will live as long as the language in which he spoke or the nation that he served. Apparently confiding with his friends, his inmost soul was fathomless and was veiled from every eye. Awkward and ungainly in appearance, there was something so deeply impressive in his face that none who ever saw him could forget it. Always ready with a witty answer or a droll story, there was yet a strange vein of sadness that pervaded his whole life, and was always visible in his countenance.

Lincoln was the Providential instrument in guiding the nation through the wilderness of threatened disunion, and it seemed sad that when the wanderings were at an end, and, like Moses, he could ascend the mountain and view the promised land, he was not permitted to enter. But Lincoln's work was done. He was probably less fitted for the arduous

²⁰⁶ Goldwin Smith.

work of reconstruction than for the great work that was assigned him. Many who are not in sympathy with the harsh measures of Congress that characterized the reconstruction period, believe that Lincoln would have swung too far in the opposite direction; that he was too great-hearted, that his soul was too generous and forgiving, for him to have been the proper one to adjust the legal relations between the emancipated slave and his former taskmaster, and that in the death of the great President, as well as in his life, we can see the hand of God.²⁰⁷

FOREIGN RELATIONS—THE ALABAMA

Aside from the Trent Affair and the recognition with undue haste of the belligerency of the South by the European nations, there were two items in our foreign relations during the war that became serious. One was the building in British waters of Confederate cruisers to prey on United States shipping; the other was the attempt of France to set up a monarchy in Mexico. The one was a palpable violation of neutrality, the other a violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

The English Foreign Enlistment Act, passed in the reign of George III, forbade the equipping, furnishing, fitting out, or arming within the British dominions of any vessel to be used against any state with whom his Majesty should then be at peace. This was construed to mean that a vessel could be built for such a purpose in British waters if fitted out elsewhere. Mr. J. D. Bullock, the Confederate naval agent in England, soon found therefore that the English shipyards were open to him. The first vessel to be so built

²⁰⁷ Others believe that Lincoln, with his tact, his firmness, and his great popularity, would have won Congress to his plan of reconstruction, and would thereby have left far less bitterness between the sections than was actually the case. See next chapter.

was the *Florida*; but the most notorious was the *Alabama*, to which, as an example of all, we give more particular attention. The *Alabama* was built on the Mersey, by Laird and Sons, the senior member of the firm being a member of Parliament. The ship, known while building as "290," was a vessel of about a thousand tons, her engines representing three hundred horse power. It was generally understood that she was intended for the Confederate service, and our minister at London, Mr. Adams, procured the necessary evidence, and called on the British government to detain her. But the matter was delayed, owing to the illness of the chief advocate, and the "290," under pretext of making her "trial trip," escaped. She steamed to the Azores, where she was equipped by two British vessels, and was placed in command of Raphael Semmes. She then unfurled the Confederate banner, and on August 24 came out in her true colors as a privateer, and took the name *Alabama*.

After capturing a few American vessels near the British coast, the *Alabama* started on her wonderful tour of the oceans. She swept across the Atlantic to within two hundred miles of New York, thence turning southward to the West Indies. By the 1st of November she had captured twenty-two Federal vessels. In the early spring of 1862 the *Alabama* made another grand detour, touching the coast of Brazil, and proceeding thence eastward to South Africa and to the Bay of Bengal, where she spent the following winter, making prize of every American vessel that came within her reach. In June, 1864, we find her in the harbor of Cherbourg, France. Here also was the United States war vessel, the *Kearsarge*, commanded by Captain John A. Winslow.

Semmes had been twitted with being a pirate, and to prove the *Alabama* a legitimate war vessel, and to revive, if possi-

ble, the expiring question of the recognition of his new-born nation by the European powers, he challenged Captain Winslow to a naval duel. The challenge was accepted; and the two vessels, about the same in size and force, steamed out to neutral waters and began their death duel.

People gathered in thousands on the shore to witness the strange, unnatural spectacle—the mortal strife between the estranged brethren of the same household. The two vessels began circling round and round, lessening the distance between them and pouring in their broadsides. One shell from the *Kearsarge* exploded on the *Alabama* and killed or wounded eighteen men. The *Alabama* was soon disabled, and after an hour of conflict she raised the white flag; but before her crew could all be rescued she sank beneath the waves. For two years she had plowed the main unhindered on her mission of destruction. She had destroyed sixty-nine vessels,²⁰⁸ ten million dollars' worth of property. But at last her meteoric course was ended, and, with many of her devoted crew, she found a final home on the bottom of the ocean, on whose bosom she had reigned, a queen without a rival, until her too-sanguine master made this hapless challenge to fight a duel with the *Kearsarge*.²⁰⁹

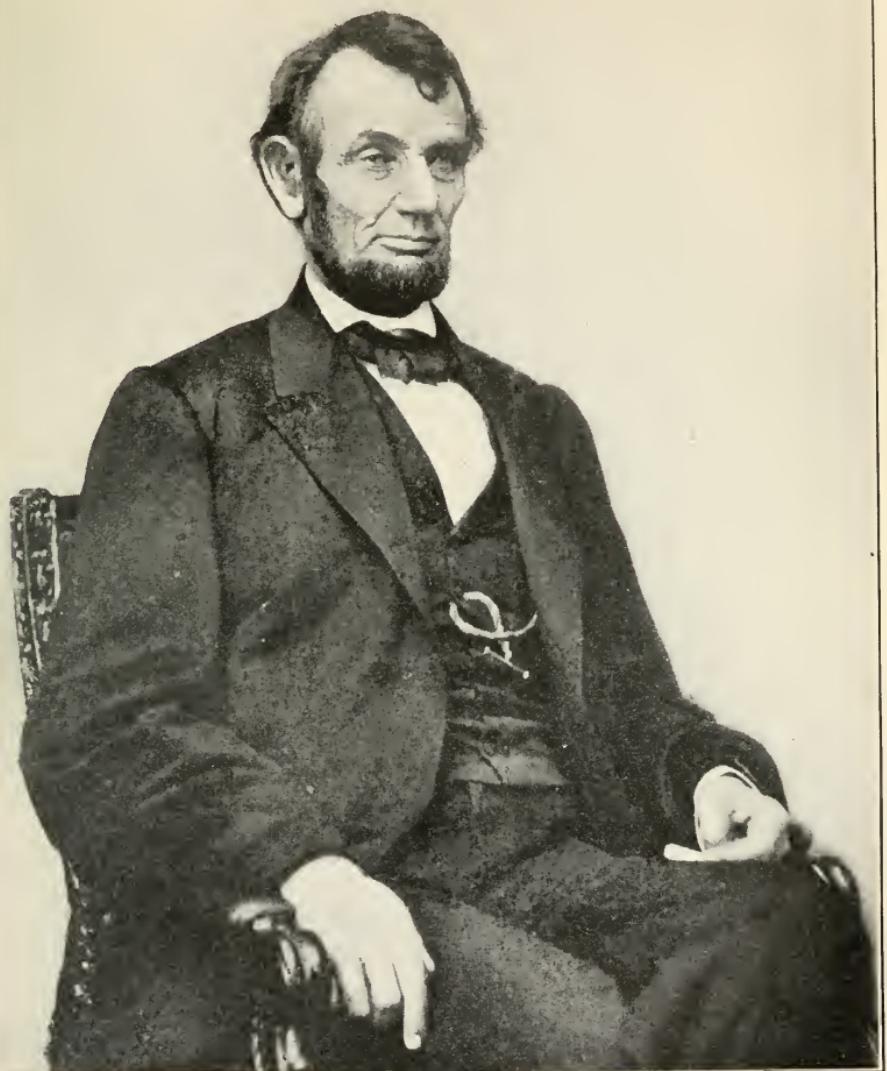
Nearly a score of Confederate vessels, built in English waters, preyed on American vessels. The most destructive, next to the *Alabama*, was the *Shenandoah*, which made thirty-six captures; the *Florida* made thirty-seven and the *Tallahassee* twenty-nine. The subject gave rise to a serious international dispute, to be noticed on a later page.

²⁰⁸ Bullock's "History of the Confederate States Navy," p. 815.

²⁰⁹ See "Side Lights," Series II, p. 224. Most of the survivors of the *Alabama* became prisoners of Captain Winslow; but Semmes was rescued by a British vessel and given his freedom.

The occupation of Mexico by France also came near bringing international trouble. Mexico had suffered a revolution almost every year, and sometimes oftener, from the time she had won her independence in 1824, to 1858. The country was usually in a state of anarchy, and was unable to protect the lives and property of foreign residents and sojourners within her bounds. In 1861 the foreign debt amounted to nearly \$100,000,000, but the treasury was bankrupt, and the Mexican Congress decided that no foreign obligation should be paid for two years. This was done under President Benita Juarez, a full-blooded Indian, a highly educated and honorable man. The intention was, not to repudiate the debts, but to recuperate the treasury.

France, England, and Spain, however, had grown impatient, and they decided to make a joint demand for immediate payment of their claims on Mexico. But as Mexico was utterly unable to pay, they sent a fleet to take possession of Vera Cruz and collect the customs of that port until the claims were settled. This was in the spring of 1862. In a short time the Mexican government made arrangements by which England and Spain were satisfied, and they withdrew their vessels. But France refused to accept the same terms, and then it developed that she had ulterior motives—nothing less than the seizure of the Mexican government and the setting up of a monarchy on the ruins of the Republic. As a pretext the French espoused the famous Jecker bond swindle. A few years before this a revolutionary government in Mexico had issued \$15,000,000 in bonds, and these were purchased by the Swiss banker, Jecker, at five cents on the dollar. France now demanded full payment of this fraudulent debt, and as Mexico could not pay, determined on the conquest of the country. This was accomplished by mid-



1809—ABRAHAM LINCOLN—1865.

1864.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

summer, 1863, and Maximilian, archduke of Austria, was invited to become the emperor of Mexico. A year later Maximilian, who was doubtless a sincere man, but not a statesman, assumed the government, the Mexicans at the same time making a pretense of being content with the new order. The French army, however, remained, and on it rested the security of the throne.

All this was galling to the people of the United States. It was the most radical infraction of the Monroe Doctrine yet attempted. But as it occurred during the darkest period of the Civil War, Mr. Seward managed the matter with admirable tact, lest the life of the nation be endangered. Not until after the battle of Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg did he inform the French that the proceedings in Mexico were distasteful to the United States government. After the war had closed, Seward came out boldly and demanded of the Emperor Napoleon that the French armies be withdrawn from Mexico; and to emphasize this demand General Sheridan was sent into Texas with fifty thousand veteran troops. The Emperor of France now clearly understood, and ere long he withdrew his armies. Maximilian, however, remained, in the belief that he had won the Mexican people, and that they would willingly remain his subjects. But in this he was sadly in error. The deposed President Juarez marched upon the capital with an army. The unhappy Maximilian was easily overpowered and captured. He was executed in 1867, and Mexico again became a republic.

It is a pleasure to turn to our relations with Germany and Russia during the war. Not only was the German Confederation in full sympathy with the Union cause, but thousands of German-Americans gave their lives in defense of that cause. But Russia was the most conspicuous foreign friend

we had in war times. Not long after the war opened, the Czar is said to have revealed to the United States that some of the powers were contemplating concerted action against the Union. In the spring of 1863 a fleet of Russian war vessels was stationed in New York harbor and another at San Francisco, where they remained for many months. The admiral of the fleet at New York, being asked why he was here, answered that he did not know; that his orders were sealed and were not to be broken, except in a certain contingency which had not occurred. It was afterward asserted at St. Petersburg that the orders were, that in case of war between the United States and England or France, the Russian fleets were to report to the President for duty. Various motives for the action of Russia are given, the most plausible of which is that the Crimean War had left with her bitterness toward France and England.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR

The magnitude of the Civil War may be realized by contrasting it with the Revolution. The army of McClellan in 1862 or that of Grant in 1865 was at least seven times greater than any ever commanded by Washington. When Lee surrendered at Appomattox his army was less than half its usual size, and yet he surrendered twice as many men as Burgoyne at Saratoga and Cornwallis at Yorktown combined.²¹⁰ There were cavalry raids in the Civil War that are scarcely mentioned in history, any one of which in one month destroyed more property and took more captives than did any British army of the Revolution in a whole year.

The cost of the Civil War in life and treasure was enormous. Of the northern armies one hundred and ten thou-

²¹⁰ Johnson, p. 321.

sand men were shot dead or mortally wounded in battle, while two hundred and fifty thousand died of disease or accident. If the losses to the South were proportionally great, as they probably were, the war cost the nation at least half a million human lives, to say nothing of thousands who returned to their homes with broken health or maimed bodies. President Lincoln issued twelve calls for volunteers, and the whole number of men enlisted was 2,773,400,²¹¹ many of whom were reënlistments. The highest number of northern men in the field at one time (April, 1865) slightly exceeded one million. The whole number of enlistments in the South probably reached a million.²¹²

The cost in treasure was equally astonishing. The expense to the government reached an average of nearly \$3,000,000 a day, and there was a public debt in August, 1865, of \$2,845,000,000. These figures take no account of the separate expenditures of the states and cities, amounting to nearly \$500,000,000, nor of the expense to the South, nor of the incalculable destruction of property. To all this must be added the interest on the public debt and the pensions paid to the soldiers, to the widows, and the orphans. The total cost of the war no doubt exceeded \$10,000,000,000. And yet the country increased in wealth and resources during the war and the period following it. The South, it is true, was ruined and exhausted; but the North was stronger and better equipped in 1865 than in 1861.

A great movement will always bring before the public

²¹¹ This does not include one hundred and twenty thousand emergency men who were not in active service.

²¹² "Battles and Leaders," Vol. IV, p. 768. Livermore makes a higher estimate based on the census of 1860; but no accurate records of Confederate enlistments were kept.

gaze great characters who might otherwise have died unknown. In the Civil War several commanders in the field achieved fame of the first order; while in civil life the fame of only one, Abraham Lincoln, was greatly enhanced by the war. The reverse was true of the Revolution. Of the half dozen who achieved great fame in that period, only one was a commander of armies.²¹³

The Civil War brought out no commanders of the very highest grade—certainly no Napoleons or Hannibals. The first place among the commanders is usually, and perhaps justly, awarded to Grant. He has been severely criticised. It is often stated that his army always outnumbered the army of his enemy, that he was simply a bull-dog fighter, was no tactician, and won his victories by brute force. Much of this is true, and it is also true that Grant was wanting in that essential to a great commander,—personal magnetism, the ability to electrify an army with his own spirit. But with all this, the facts remain that Grant did at times display great power as a tactician, and that the three great surrenders, at Donelson, Vicksburg, and Appomattox, were all made to him.

Next to Grant stands Sherman and then Sheridan. Sherman displayed extraordinary talents at Shiloh and in the

²¹³ Washington stands without a rival as the military leader of the Revolution. Greene, who comes next, must be classed below him. But Franklin, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and John and Samuel Adams are all among the first-rank heroes in the popular mind. The Civil War gave us Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Farragut, closely seconded by Meade and Thomas; and, if we include the other side, Lee and Jackson. But outside the battle field Lincoln stands grandly alone. Other great names we have: Seward, Sumner, Chase, Fessenden, Wade, and Stevens; but most of them had reached the acme of their fame before the war, and none of the galaxy is classed in popular fancy as a star of the first magnitude.—Note from “Side Lights,” Series II, p. 48.

Atlanta campaign, as did Sheridan at Cedar Creek and at Five Forks. Sheridan possessed the power above all men in the war, except Stonewall Jackson, to infuse the fire of his own soul into an army. Next to these we would place Thomas. There was nothing more grandly heroic in the war than the stand made by Thomas at Chickamauga, and there was no battle more perfectly planned than the battle of Nashville. But Thomas never received the honor he deserved. Why the name of Thomas was not mentioned in the congratulatory order to the officers and men who fought at Mill Spring; why he, instead of Rosecrans, did not succeed Buell after Perryville; and why General Grant in his *Memoirs* persistently withholds from Thomas the credit he deserves, are among the war mysteries not yet revealed. Rosecrans gave much promise for a time, but he never recovered from his unfortunate disaster, for which he was not to blame, at Chickamauga.

On the southern side there were at least five able commanders—Lee, Jackson, the two Johnstons, and Longstreet. The fact that two of these were slain in battle before the issue of the war was decided may have had much to do, if not with the ultimate result, certainly with the duration of the war. Albert Sidney Johnston was at first believed to be the ablest commander in the South, and Jefferson Davis declared that when Johnston fell at Pittsburg Landing, the cause of the South was lost. The worth of Jackson is well known. Lee declared that he would have won a mighty victory at Gettysburg had Jackson still been with him, and it is possible that he would have done so. Bishop Polk ranked next in importance among the southern slain, but his death did not perceptibly affect the outcome.

On the northern side at least four prominent men were

killed,—Baker, Reynolds, Sedgwick, and McPherson; but the death of none of these is believed to have affected the general result. One of the southern generals of some prominence was born in the North,—Pemberton, a native of Connecticut,—while two of the strongest northern commanders—Farragut and Thomas—were of southern birth. It will be noticed that all the generals who achieved the highest success were graduates of West Point. A few volunteers, however, such as John A. Logan, N. P. Banks, Lew Wallace, Butler, Phil Kearney, Nelson A. Miles, Sigel, and Carl Schurz, made most creditable records. It is notable that no well-known commander of the war, except General Hunter, had reached the age of fifty years at the close of the war, and many of them were under forty.²¹⁴

In addition to the causes of northern success given on a preceding page, another must be mentioned,—the great superiority of Lincoln over Jefferson Davis. These two opposing chieftains were born in the same state, Kentucky, but a year apart. Both left their native state in early life. The one drifting northward absorbed the free-soil sentiment of his adopted section, until it became the guiding star of his life; the other, migrating to the cotton belt, espoused the cause of the slaveholder and became the leader of the far-famed aristocracy of the South. It is curious to speculate what might have been the history of our country had the direction of the migration of these two been reversed.

The most remarkable fact concerning the Civil War is that it wrought no permanent change in our civic institutions (aside from those pertaining to the negro), that it left no trace upon the people as regards local government, personal liberty, or freedom of speech, and that it did not change our

²¹⁴ See Blaine, Vol. II, p. 29.

character as a peace-loving people. For four years the President wielded almost imperial power, but the functions of his office were not permanently affected. No President since Lincoln has enjoyed greater power than those who preceded him. The thousands of arbitrary arrests and the suppression of many newspapers have left not a trace on our personal liberty and freedom of the press. At the close of the war the armies melted away like magic, the soldiers returned to the pursuits of peace, and the relative importance of the civil and military authorities was left absolutely the same as before the war. These facts we look upon with pardonable pride, as they prove our great steadiness and conservatism as a people.

What then were the results of the great war aside from the extinction of slavery and the enfranchising of the black man? It readjusted the relations between the nation and the individual states, and established the nation on a permanent basis by eliminating from American politics the idea of state sovereignty and of secession; it transferred the primary allegiance of the citizen from the state to the nation;²¹⁵ and, by removing slavery, the war opened the way for a feeling of common brotherhood between the two great sections of the country, and led to the development of the vast resources of the South. The war was a surgical operation, severe indeed, but necessary to restore the normal health of the nation, and with all its cost it brought untold blessings to the United States. Never before the war was the development of the country so marvelous as it has been since; never was there a feeling of oneness in all sections of our broad land as at present, and never in history was the theory of self-govern-

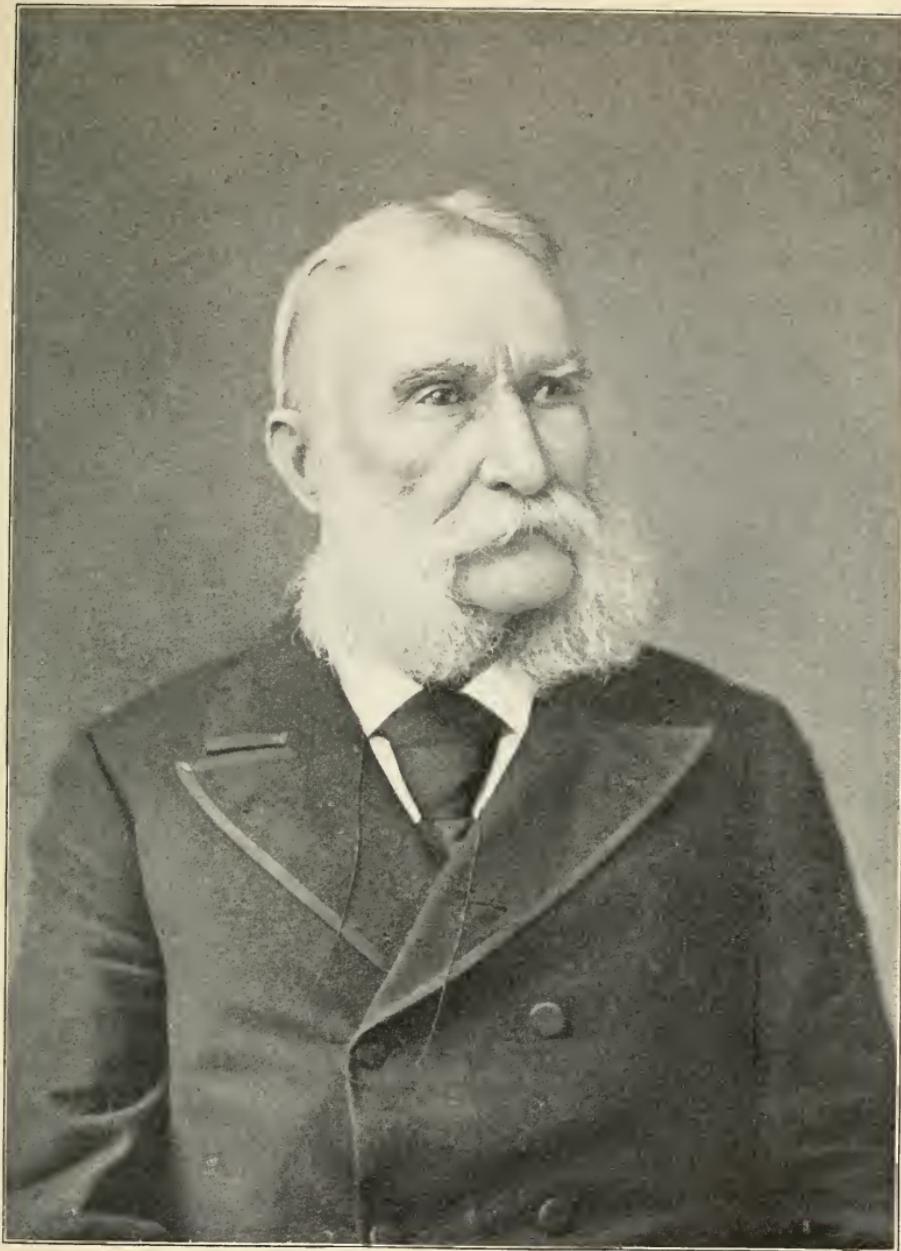
²¹⁵ This was accomplished by the Civil War and was put into permanent form by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

ment so firmly established as a practical and enduring thing as to-day in the United States.

NOTES

Capture of Jefferson Davis.—The Confederate President, on escaping from Richmond, April 2, went with his cabinet to Danville, where they obtained rooms, set up the departments of the government, and issued an address to "fire the southern heart." Learning of Lee's surrender and of the approach of Federal cavalry, he hastened to move to Greensboro, North Carolina. Here he had an interview with Johnston and Beauregard, who declared that the cause was hopeless, and advised a surrender; but Davis refused to give up. From here the party moved in all sorts of vehicles to Charlotte, North Carolina, thence to Abbeville, South Carolina, and thence to Washington, Georgia. On leaving Charlotte the company consisted of some two thousand persons, mostly cavalry from Johnston's army, but it rapidly melted away until few were left except the fallen President, his family, one member of his cabinet, and a few servants. The aim was to move westward and join with the army of Kirby Smith west of the Mississippi; but this was now given up, and it was decided that Davis leave his family and proceed on horseback to the coast of Florida and thence embark for Texas. The party encamped on the night of May 9 in a pine forest near Irwinville, in southern Georgia, and here at daybreak next morning they were captured by a band of Federal cavalry under Colonel Pritchard of Michigan. Davis was defiant and sullen, though he was well treated by his captors. He was carried northward, and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe. Here he remained for two years, when he was indicted for treason and released on bail, his bondsmen being Horace Greeley, Gerrit Smith, and Cornelius Vanderbilt. On Christmas day, 1868, President Johnson proclaimed a pardon for all hitherto unpardoned participants in the rebellion. This included Davis, who thus became a free man. He returned to his former home in Mississippi, where he lived for a quarter of a century in retirement, writing, meantime, his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" in two large volumes.

Fate of Lincoln's Assassins.—John Wilkes Booth was found to be at the head of a few conspirators, whose headquarters had been at Washington for several months. Their intention was to abduct President Lincoln and carry him to Richmond; but as no opportunity offered, and as the surrender of Lee maddened their brains, already insanely



1821—JAMES LONGSTREET—1904.

1895.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

devoted to the southern cause, they resolved to kill the President, the Vice President, Mr. Seward, and General Grant. But Grant went to Baltimore on the afternoon of the 14th, and thus escaped.

After the assassination, Booth escaped across the navy-yard bridge and, joined by an accomplice named Herold, rode till toward morning, and came to the house of Dr. Mudd, a sympathizer, who set the bone of Booth's broken leg. They were aided by sympathizers along the way, remaining a whole week with a Mr. Jones near Port Tobacco. At length they were rowed across the Potomac into Virginia; but the government detectives were scouring the country, and escape was impossible. Booth was greatly disappointed. He expected the whole South to rise up and call him a hero. On the night of the 25th of April, Booth and his companion were found sleeping in the barn of a Mr. Garrett near Port Royal, by a searching party under Lieutenant Doherty. Herold came out and surrendered, but Booth refused to do so, and the barn was fired. While it was burning, Booth was shot in the neck by Boston Corbett, and died three hours later.

Payne, who had attempted the life of Secretary Seward, left his hat when he escaped. This led to his capture. Hiding a few days near Washington, he stole into the city, hatless, in search of food, and was arrested. He and Herold, Mrs. Surrat, at whose house the conspiracy was hatched, and an accomplice named Atzerodt, were hanged, while Dr. Mudd and a few others were imprisoned for life, but were afterward released. The common belief at first, that Jefferson Davis was connected with the conspiracy to assassinate Lincoln, was proved to be wholly without foundation.

The Finances.—The government met its war expenses by laying an income tax of 3 per cent on all incomes over \$800, by tariff duties, by internal revenue, and by issuing interest-bearing bonds to the extent of \$1,199,000,000, and non-interest-bearing notes called "greenbacks" to the extent of \$450,000,000, as noted in the text. By the close of the year 1861, all banks had suspended specie payments, and the government soon did the same. All coin soon disappeared from circulation, and gold rose rapidly in value, reaching 285, its highest point, in July, 1864. A soldier's pay was \$13 per month with food and clothes. It cost the government about \$1000 a year to keep each soldier in the field. The Confederate notes depreciated until, in the spring of 1865, it required \$100 to purchase one dollar in gold, and \$1000 to purchase a barrel of flour, while a spool of thread cost \$20, and a pound of sugar \$75. This money, of course, had no purchasing power on the collapse of the Confederate government.

CHAPTER XXXV

ANDREW JOHNSON AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE surrender of the Confederate armies marked the end of bloodshed, but did not bring rest and peace to the American people. As at the close of the Revolution the great problem of self-government remained to be solved, so with the close of the Civil War came the serious task of restoring the seceded states to their normal relations in the Union.

THE NEW PROBLEM

Long before the war had closed, the subject of how to get the seceding states back into the Union began to occupy the attention of the President and Congress. The problem was a new one and had no precedent in history, nor was it provided for in the Constitution. Much eloquence was wasted on the subject of the relations the rebellious states bore to the Union during the war. Some took the ground that the seceding states had lost all standing as members of the Union, others, including President Lincoln, contending that the relations of the seceding states to the government were only suspended and could not be severed.²¹⁶

But the practical question was, how to reinstate the straying sisters in the family. On this subject the Republican party came to be seriously divided. One faction took the position that when the war was over and the Southern

²¹⁶ This position was sustained in a Supreme Court decision (*Texas vs. White*, 1868), in which our country is pronounced "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible states."

states had accepted the great twofold result,—the restoration of the Union and the removal of slavery,—they should be readily forgiven and should be readmitted with as little further humiliation as possible. To this class belonged President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, Generals Grant and Sherman, and many of the leading men of the North who had done all in their power to put down the rebellion. The opposing faction was far more radical. It comprised the majority of the members of Congress, led by Charles Sumner in the Senate and by Thaddeus Stevens in the House. These men and their followers were ready to humiliate the people of the South still further after defeating them in battle, and to grant them forgiveness only when they abjectly begged it and acknowledged themselves utterly in the wrong. This was asking too much. If it be granted that the southern people were sincere in warring against the Union, how could they be expected, on their defeat, instantly to denounce the cause in which their fathers and brethren had died as a false one? Time alone can bring such changes; matters of the heart and conscience are wholly beyond the powers of legislative coercion. The South has come to see that a division of the Union would have been a disaster, and that slavery was an evil; but such a condition could not have been expected in 1865.

Early in the war Stevens took the ground that the seceded states had forfeited all rights under the Constitution, and should be dealt with as conquered territory. As the war drew to a close, he and his followers became more fierce in their attitude toward the South; they displayed an utter want of magnanimity, and they failed also to realize that their course was bad public policy. Many

of the leading southerners would have been of great service, had they been given an opportunity, in leading their countrymen to accept in good faith the results of the war and to become good citizens. "I perceived that we had the unbounded respect," said General Sherman, "of our armed enemies. . . . I am sure that at the close of the Civil War the Confederate army embraced the best governed, the best disposed, the most reliable men of the South; and I would have used them in reconstruction instead of driving them into a hopeless opposition." This was also the view of President Lincoln; but not so with the leaders in Congress, and the result was a serious breach between the legislative and executive branches of the government.

Mr. Lincoln believed that as the pardoning power in the case of an individual rested with the Executive, the same should extend to the states. In December, 1863, he set forth a plan of reconstruction by which he offered pardon to those who had been in rebellion, with certain exceptions, on condition that they take an oath to support and defend the Constitution and the Union, and to abide by the laws and proclamations relating to slavery. He also declared that a state might resume its place in the Union when one tenth of the number of the voters of 1860 had taken this oath and had set up a state government. At the same time he confessed that the question of the admission of their representatives in the national Congress must be decided by the respective houses. It was not long before Louisiana and Arkansas took advantage of this offer, framed and adopted constitutions in which slavery was forever forbidden, and set up state governments under them. A little over one tenth of the presidential vote of 1860 was cast in these

two states. The element of weakness in these governments lay in the fact that they could exist only when protected by national arms.

Mr. Lincoln acted in good faith. He bore no malice toward the people of the South. But his plan was not carefully completed, and he was wrong in not taking more pains to win Congress to his way of thinking. The opposition in Congress to the President's plan was at first feeble; but owing to a growing jealousy of the executive department, to a distrust of the ex-Confederates, and to a belief that Mr. Lincoln would be too lenient in his dealings with them, the majority came to be openly hostile to the "ten per cent" plan, and when the newly elected members from Arkansas presented themselves, they were unceremoniously rejected by both House and Senate. Congress then passed a reconstruction bill differing widely from the views of the President. By this bill the President was directed to appoint a provisional governor for each rebellious state, and this governor should, on the cessation of hostilities, make an enrollment of all the white male citizens; and if a majority of these should take an oath to support the Constitution, a convention should be called to frame a state Constitution, which should disfranchise the leaders of the rebellion, abolish slavery, and pronounce against the payment of any Confederate debt. This Constitution must then be submitted to a popular vote; if it were supported by a majority, the governor was to report the fact to the President, who should recognize the state government after obtaining the consent of Congress.²¹⁷

²¹⁷ Even this bill was too mild for Stevens, the House leader, who denied all constitutional rights to the South, and favored confiscating the property of the leaders of the rebellion.

The measure was a severe rebuke to the President. It was sent to him on July 4, 1864, the last day of the session, and he quietly disposed of it by a pocket veto.²¹⁸ A few days after the session closed he issued a proclamation declaring that he was "unprepared . . . to be inflexibly committed to any single plan of restoration," or to declare the governments in Louisiana and Arkansas set aside, thereby repelling the loyal citizens of these states. Had Congress been in session, a fierce conflict would doubtless have been precipitated. But the members had gone to their homes and would not again assemble for some months; and further, the country was in the midst of a presidential campaign, and any party schism at that time might have proved disastrous. Most of the leaders therefore smothered their resentment and continued to work for Mr. Lincoln's reëlection.

But there were two notable exceptions. Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio and Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, chairmen of the respective committees on rebellious states, came out in a most caustic paper against the President. This paper was published widely over the signatures of the two statesmen. It arraigned Mr. Lincoln in the severest language, declaring that the Union men in Congress "would not submit to be impeached of rash and un-

²¹⁸ The Constitution provides that a congressional bill must be signed or vetoed by the President within ten days after its passage. If he does neither, it will become a law without his signature. This, however, does not apply when Congress adjourns within the ten days. If in that case the President withholds his signature, the bill does not become law. This is called a pocket veto. Congress was wrong in rebuking the President so sharply in this bill; but Mr. Lincoln no doubt made a serious mistake in not signing it. In a private conversation with Sumner he expressed his regret at not having done so. The bill was far milder than the reconstruction bill adopted three years later.

constitutional legislation," that the President "must confine himself to executive duties—to obey and execute, and not to make the laws." This remarkable paper only served to rouse Lincoln's friends, and it doubtless contributed to his great majority at the polls in November. So fully had Lincoln won the hearts of the people, even in Maryland, that Mr. Davis, who had written this paper, was denied a renomination to Congress. When Congress assembled in December, the President wisely refrained, in his message, from making any reference to reconstruction, and the winter passed without further progress. But Congress was still defiant; and an open rupture with the President, when the great subject should again be reached, seemed inevitable. Lincoln adhered to his "Louisiana plan" with unexpected tenacity. In a speech made on April 11, 1865, the last public speech of his life, he reviewed his plan of reconstruction, stating what he had done and why he did it. He explained how unwise it would be to reject and spurn the loyal people of the South in their endeavors to aid in bringing back the erring states into the union. "It may be my duty," were his final words, "to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper." What the "new announcement" was to be was never known. Four days after making this speech the great President was dead.

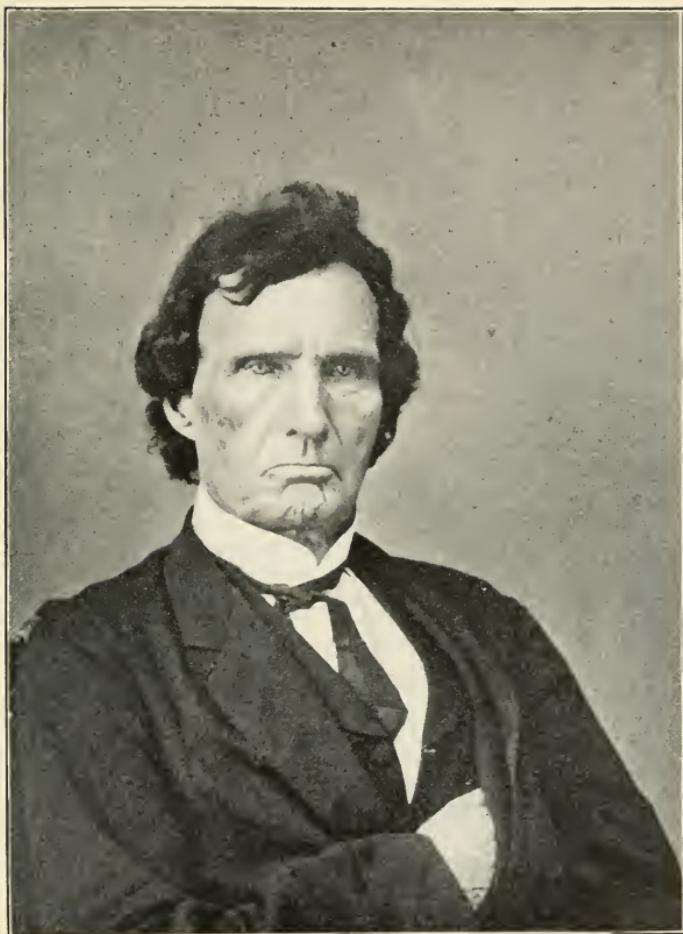
THE NEW PRESIDENT AND THE OLD PLAN

Of all our Presidents who rose from the humbler walks of life, the most notable example was Andrew Johnson. He was the third accidental President, the third also to be born in North Carolina and elected from Tennessee. As a youth

Johnson belonged to the class of "poor whites" in the South, a class whose social standing was scarcely above that of the slave. Besides being low in the social scale, Johnson was illiterate. A tailor by trade, he worked industriously and picked up the little knowledge within his reach. When married, he was scarcely able to read; his wife became his first and only teacher, and he soon acquired a fair working education. He was a coarse, honest, powerful personality. Becoming interested in politics, he was sent to the legislature of his adopted state, whence he was promoted in 1843 to the Lower House of Congress. After ten years' service in the House, he was elected governor of Tennessee, and later he entered the United States Senate. Here we find him at the outbreak of the war; and he alone, of the twenty-two senators from the seceded states, remained true to the Union. Thus Johnson attracted the attention of the country and especially of Lincoln, who made him military governor of Tennessee, and who later gave his voice for him as candidate for the vice presidency.

Johnson's patriotism was unquestioned, and his courage rose to the heroic. On one occasion he kept at bay a mob thirsting for his blood by the defiant glare of his eyes. But his courage was of the bull-dog character. To the better part of valor, discretion, he was a stranger. He was pugnacious and egotistical; "he seemed to enjoy combat and continued to fight after he was beaten without knowing he was beaten."²¹⁹ In ordinary times Johnson might have made a good President. But the times were inauspicious. The agitation of the people over reconstruction was scarcely less than during the war, and moreover, the machinery of government had been thrown out of balance by the

²¹⁹ "Side Lights," Series II, p. 186.



1792—THADDEUS STEVENS—1868.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

death of Lincoln. Among public men of the time, it would have been difficult to find a man less fitted for the ponderous duties of the great office than was this belligerent, egotistical, tactless man from Tennessee.

Now in the midst of the strife over reconstruction Andrew Johnson became President of the United States. Twice before had the Vice President succeeded to the chief office, and in each case the policy of the government had been radically changed. That the same would again occur seemed evident from the earliest utterances of the new President. In the first weeks of his presidency he breathed out threatenings against the leaders of the rebellion continually. What a contrast with the attitude of the mild, the ever humane Lincoln! But a change came over the mind of the newly installed President. Only a few weeks passed before he veered about in his attitude toward the South, and seemed ready to go as far as Lincoln had ever gone in his efforts at conciliation. The change in Johnson is supposed to have been wrought by the influence of Seward, whom he retained as secretary of state. The wounds received by Mr. Seward on the night of the assassination of Lincoln were at first thought to be fatal. For days he hovered between life and death. Then he began to improve, and so rapid was his recovery that in a few weeks he again took his place in the Cabinet. Seward did not favor the harsh measures toward the South implied in the threats of Johnson. In magnanimity of soul he was comparable with his fallen chieftain. Johnson came under the subtle power of Seward's mind, and the less yielded to the greater.²²⁰ The outcome of this coalition was un-

²²⁰ This view is strongly advocated by Mr. Blaine and is doubtless

happy; but neither foresaw this, and Seward, judged alone from his motives, was never greater in all his great life, never more heroic and admirable.

It must be remembered that for many years before the war, Seward, as champion of the cause of the slave, as the unrelenting political foe of the slaveholders, as the father of Republicanism, was despised from one end of the South to the other. But as the war neared its ending he became an advocate of mild measures toward the South, and he labored with Lincoln for months to make the pathway of the erring sisters easy to retrace. While thus engaged, he was attacked on the bed of sickness by a half-crazed sympathizer with disunion, and stabbed and gashed till life was almost gone. Had there been a grain of littleness in Seward's soul, it would now have gained the mastery. But instead of showing resentment, he resumed his place in the Cabinet and advocated the same mild reconstruction plan for which he had labored before. Johnson now took up the thread of reconstruction where Lincoln had left off, and henceforth his attitude was one of conciliation toward the South.

Congress was not in session, and Johnson was easily persuaded to believe that he had power to restore the Southern states to the Union without the aid of Congress. On the 29th of May, 1865, he issued his great amnesty proclamation extending pardon to almost the entire South, with the exception of the leaders in the rebellion who were designated under thirteen different headings; and most of these exceptions were promised pardon on the condition that they personally seek it.

the correct one, though it is quite probable that Johnson's change was partly due to the reasserting of his democratic views.

On this same day, May 29, the President issued a second proclamation appointing a provisional governor of North Carolina, who was to reestablish the machinery of government in that state on the basis of the vote of the white citizens who should take the oath required by the amnesty proclamation. In a short time similar action was taken with regard to other states, and by the middle of July all the seceded states had taken steps toward setting up governments by the authority of Johnson,—except four, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia, whose "ten per cent" governments, established under Lincoln's authority, were now recognized;—and each soon had its legislature at work and everything moving in apparent harmony.

What a marvelous achievement! This great problem of reconstruction for which the history of the ages furnished no precedent, which had puzzled the brain of the wisest statesmen,—this vast problem had been completely solved and disposed of in a few weeks by this accidental President who had scarcely learned to read when he reached adult life. Johnson had asked no advice of Congress. He seemed to have forgotten that President Lincoln had found a powerful obstacle to his method of reconstruction in the opposition of the legislative branch. Johnson's egotism led him to believe that he could do what Lincoln had failed to do, and that he was quite competent to perform the work; and he was led to believe that it came within his duty and authority to readmit the seceded states single-handed. He probably expected opposition from the legislative branch, but there is little reason to believe that Johnson meant to defy or to offend Congress, or to alienate the party that had elected him.

It cannot be denied that there was much merit in the

plan of Johnson, of which, however, Lincoln and Seward, rather than he, were the authors. John Sherman in his "Recollections" declares the scheme "wise and judicious." Johnson's plan was based on Lincoln's Louisiana plan, but it also contained many features of the congressional bill that Lincoln had refused to sign the year before. By this plan a state was to be restored to the Union, after it had abolished slavery, repudiated any debt incurred in aid of rebellion, and ratified the

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

For more than sixty years the Supreme Law of the land had remained unchanged. So slow moving are we, and so tenaciously do we cling to our organic law, that in those sixty years every proposed amendment, and they were many, fell to the ground.²²¹ Nothing short of a great national upheaval could bring about constitutional changes, and this was furnished by the Civil War, whose permanent results are registered in three amendments to the Constitution. The first of these, the Thirteenth, is very short and deals only with removing slavery forever from the United States. When President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation, he intended it only as a preliminary measure, and it applied only to slaves of disloyal masters. He knew that to be effective and universal it must be followed by an amendment to the Constitution. When the saving of the Union seemed assured, the great subject on the mind of the President was that of removing slavery. His later messages

²²¹ See Ames's "Proposed Amendments," *passim*. Other reasons for our not amending the Constitution more frequently are, that some features have been changed by custom, others by the decisions of the Federal court in accordance with broad construction, and the fact that the machinery of amendment is very cumbersome. See *supra*, Vol. II, p. 169.



1842—SIDNEY LANIER—1881.

1879.

From an enlargement of a photograph taken in Baltimore, Md.

are full of the subject. In his annual message of December, 1864, referring to the blacks who had been set free by the proclamation of 1863, or by acts of Congress, he declared that if the people should make it an "executive duty to reënslave such persons, another and not I must be their instrument to perform it." This was a notice that he would resign his office rather than become an instrument in reënslaving the blacks already set free.

As early as April, 1864, the Senate adopted an emancipation amendment; but it failed in the House. As the summer and autumn passed, the Union armies made notable progress; Lincoln was reëlected and the Republican majority increased in Congress. Maryland had emancipated of her own accord, and other border states were moving in the same direction. It seemed certain that if the Thirty-eighth Congress refused to reconsider and pass the amendment, the Thirty-ninth would pass it. But the Thirty-eighth did not wait. A few Democratic votes were needed to make the two-thirds majority, and these President Lincoln secured by an adroit use of the patronage. After some weeks' debate, the measure was passed (119 to 56) amid the greatest excitement. The members of the House then sang the doxology and adjourned.

The Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery forever in the United States, was then sent to the states, and, being ratified by the necessary three fourths, was proclaimed, on December 18, 1865, a part of the Supreme Law of the land.²²²

²²² Among the states ratifying were a few that had seceded and had not yet been readmitted by Congress. These were necessary to make the three fourths. This fact forced the country to one of two conclusions: that the Amendment was not legally adopted, or that the restoration of states by Lincoln and Johnson was valid.

On meeting in December, 1865, Congress utterly ignored the work of Johnson. The House, after electing a speaker, entertained a motion made by Thaddeus Stevens, that a joint committee of House and Senate be appointed to inquire into the condition of the seceded states, and passed it without debate—before the annual message of the President had been received. The seceded states, whose representatives waited outside for admission, were not even mentioned in the roll call. The Senate, led by Sumner, was equally defiant, and the President soon found himself out of harmony with both houses. Admitting that the Johnson plan of reconstruction was wise in many respects, as is now generally agreed, but two reasons are apparent for this action of Congress. The first was ignoble and unworthy the law-makers of a great nation. It was a feeling of malice toward the people of the South, coupled with a feeling of pique that the President had attempted this great work without consulting them. The second reason, a commendable one which justified their revising of Johnson's work, but not their wantonly offending him, was the fact that some of the southern legislatures, assembled under the Johnson plan, had already passed unjust laws discriminating against the black man. To these may be added a third reason, namely, a fear that the Democrats of the North would join their political fortunes with the South, and at an early day get control of the government.

Ruined by the war, the South had won the sympathy of the world, and there were many in the North ready to follow the lead of Lincoln, Seward, and Grant, and deal gently with the fallen foe. During the summer of 1865 the South had a great opportunity to show its appreciation of this and to increase the rising sympathy by dealing gently with the

negro. But various Southern states took the opposite course. It is true that the problem of the southern whites was a hard one. The government of millions of illiterate freedmen, ignorant, lazy, and often vicious, required special legislation; but such legislation, instead of being humane, was in some cases harsh and unjust, and this threw a chill over the rising sympathy of the North, and gave color to the harsh measures of Congress that were soon to be enacted.

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

With the meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December, 1865, began the most violent political contest in American history. Congress, as stated, ignored the work of the President and formulated its own plan of reconstruction. The President, whose chief characteristic was pugnacity, refused to bow to the will of Congress; and he made personal attacks in public speeches on the leading men in Congress, pretending to believe that they were desirous of having him assassinated.²²³ Such a radical departure was this from the ordinary presidential dignity that it produced a shock, and served only to unite the President's enemies against him.

The great debates on reconstruction, covering many months, began on December 18, 1865. On that day Thaddeus Stevens, who was henceforth to the end of his life dictator of the House, made a radical, not to say violent, speech, in which he pronounced the South conquered territory whose future condition must depend on the will of the conquerors. The Senate, led by Sumner and his colleague, Henry Wilson, was equally radical. The Freedmen's

²²³ See McCall's "Thaddeus Stevens," p. 253.

Bureau Bill was passed in February, vetoed by the President, but failed to pass over the veto. The act provided for selling land to the freedmen at a very low rate, reserved the property of the late Confederate government for their education, and ordered the President to protect them when necessary.²²⁴ A few days after the failure to pass this bill over the veto, President Johnson made a violent speech from the steps of the White House in which he pronounced Congress an irresponsible body and denounced its leaders unsparingly. This speech tended to solidify Congress against him, and when in March he vetoed the Civil Rights Bill, it readily passed over his veto. This law was intended to give the negro the rights of a citizen before the law; but its principles were soon embodied in a more permanent form by the passing in June, 1866, of the Fourteenth Amendment. It was believed that merely giving to the black man his freedom would not insure his rights before the law. He must have other safeguards or his freedom would amount to little. The Fourteenth Amendment, therefore, in its first section, defined citizenship in such a way as to make the negro a citizen, and to place him exactly on a footing with the white man in his relation to the Federal government. It also denied to any state the right to abridge the privileges of the citizens of the United States, to deprive them of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or to deprive any within its jurisdiction of equal protection of the law. The second section declared that if any state denies the elective franchise to any portion of its male citizens above twenty-one years of age, its representation in the Lower House of Congress

²²⁴ The Freedman's Bureau Bill came up again and was passed over the executive veto in July.

should be reduced in like proportion.²²⁵ This left in the power of the state the colored man's right to vote, and any state might disfranchise him if it were willing to pay the penalty of a reduced representation in Congress.

The adoption by the Southern states of this Amendment was now made a condition of their readmission to the Union. One of the eleven, Tennessee, took advantage of the opportunity and came back into the Union fold. The other ten held aloof. The summer of 1866, and the autumn brought the election of a new Congress. Never before had there been such a bitter fight when a President was not to be elected. Both parties held great national conventions in various cities. The Johnson party consisted of the Democrats and a considerable section of the Republican party led by Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*. President Johnson at this time made his famous “swinging round the circle” tour, ostensibly to the laying of the corner stone of the Douglas monument in Chicago. But it became a campaigning tour, and the partisan speeches of the President were so violent and so unbecoming the exalted office that he filled as to make every true American blush. He attacked Congress with great fury, declared he would stick to his “policy,” nor be turned from his purpose “though the powers of hell and Thad Stevens and his gang were by,” that Stevens and Wendell Phillips should be hanged, and the like. But Johnson's policy was very much discredited at the

²²⁵ The third section excluded from the right to hold office under the government all who, having held a national or state office, had entered into rebellion against the government. The fourth section pronounced on the validity of the public debt, and forbade any state from paying any debt incurred in rebellion, or for any of the emancipated slaves.

election. The opposition won a great victory and had a majority of nearly three to one in the next House.

Had Johnson, on learning the result of the election, bowed himself to his master, the people, with "Thy will be done," he might have regained much that he had lost, and his name might now have a meaning in history that it can never have. But Johnson still showed fight; he clung to his plan, and the Southern states took courage. They seemed to think that he would win in the end, and the entire ten deliberately rejected the Fourteenth Amendment.

Congress regarded this as a defiance of its power and a challenge to battle. The recent election was looked upon as an approval by the people of its plans, and henceforth its dealings with the South were drastic and merciless. It was now evident that the radicals meant to reconstruct the South over again under the supervision of the army directed by Congress and to build up a Republican party in the South by enfranchising the negro. That this was the aim of Congress was acknowledged by such leaders as Sumner, Stevens, and Wade.²²⁶ In February, 1867, Stevens moved in the House the "Great Reconstruction Act" which provided that the ten states not yet admitted be divided into five military districts, into each of which should be sent an officer with an army to supplant the civil government. The bill was passed over the President's veto on the 2d of March, and two days later the Thirty-ninth Congress expired. But instead of taking the usual recess of nine months, the new Congress met at the moment the old expired, in the fear that the President, if left alone, would not properly carry out its desires.

This reconstruction act, with a supplementary one passed

²²⁶ "Cambridge Modern History," Vol. VII, p. 633.

later in March, provided that the military governor of each district make a registration of all the male citizens of each state, submit to them a test oath, and call for a constitutional convention, the delegates to be elected by those who should take the oath. If a state constitution so framed should conform with the national Constitution, should be ratified by a majority of the voters of the state, and be approved by Congress, the state would thereupon be readmitted to the Union, after its legislature had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.

Thus the Southern states were placed under military rule,²²⁷ order was again restored, and most of them at length proceeded to comply with the exactions of Congress. Within a year and a half after the military occupation of the South seven of the ten states had complied with the conditions and were readmitted to representation in Congress, each having ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, which became a part of the Constitution in July, 1868. Three states, however, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, still held aloof and thereby denied themselves the privilege of taking part in the presidential election of 1868.

The Southern states that ratified the Fourteenth Amendment had done so through the newly built-up Republican party, composed chiefly of negroes in those states. But the northern radicals, fearing that the Republican party in the South, which depended on the negro vote, would be insecure when the whites again gained control, and believing that the ballot would be a permanent means of protection in the hands of the blacks, now determined that the right of the

²²⁷ The five districts were put under the respective commands of Generals Schofield, Sickles, Pope, Ord, and Sheridan (who was soon supplanted by Hancock). They were appointed by the President with the advice of General Grant.

negro to vote should not be left with the states at all. This idea took shape in the Fifteenth Amendment, which denied to Congress or to any state the power to disfranchise a man on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. This amendment passed both houses in February, 1869, and the three states that had not yet been admitted were now required to ratify it, as well as the Fourteenth, as a condition of their admission. This they eventually did, and before the close of the year 1870 all had been reinstated, and the Fifteenth Amendment was part of the Constitution.²²⁸

THE CARPETBAGGERS—THE RACE QUESTION

Congressional reconstruction was thorough, drastic, merciless; a study of it enlists our sympathies with the South. The governments it set up were all temporary, and during their short existence the most corrupt in the annals of the United States. Had it not been for the summary negro laws made by some of the Southern states in 1865, and the abusive violence of President Johnson, public opinion at the North would not have sustained Congress in its methods of procedure. It is true that something more was necessary to be done for the black man than merely to set him free. It seemed needful that he be protected, for a time at least, by the national arm. This was effected by congressional reconstruction, and the result was a series of milder negro laws in the Southern states and the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the national Constitution. Aside from this, congressional reconstruction left no permanent results, and the expediency of adopting the two

²²⁸ Georgia, however, had forfeited its rights by pronouncing the negro ineligible to hold office. The state was obliged to repeal this law, and it was January, 1871, before it was finally readmitted.

amendments is at this day seriously questioned,²²⁹ and, whatever their merits, they have practically ceased to be operative in the South. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, it will be remembered, deal only with the states and do not protect the individual voter from local violence while casting his ballot. For such protection the negro must still depend solely on the state in which he resides. If it refuses to protect him, he has no redress.

The governments set up during those days were scandalous beyond precedent. The old political leaders were not yet permitted to take part in the state governments. The newly enfranchised freedmen were utterly unfit to take the lead, and the result was that a class of unscrupulous adventurers from the North, packing up their goods in a carpetbag, as it was said, went to the South, won the negro voters by their blandishments, and soon had the state governments under their control. The state treasuries were plundered and bonds were issued increasing the state debts to an alarming degree. In Louisiana the public debt rose from ten to fifty million dollars in the few years of carpetbag government; in Alabama it increased over thirty million; in Georgia nearly fifty million.²³⁰ These are but samples of all. The increase indicated no public improvements—only theft. Taxes rose to a point beyond the ability of the people to pay. In Mississippi six hundred and forty thousand acres, one fifth of the state, were forfeited for taxes. In South Carolina twenty-six hundred pieces of land were sold for taxes in one county

²²⁹ Mr. Blaine, Mr. John Sherman, and most of the leading Republicans of the period following the war agree that the Fifteenth Amendment was an unwise measure. See Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. II, p. 418, and Sherman's "Recollections," Vol. I, p. 450.

²³⁰ Curry's "The South," p. 231.

in a single year.²³¹ The negro voters were easily led into the corrupt business, but the carpetbagger always managed to get the lion's share.²³² Here and there an ex-Confederate would join the thieving gang for the plunder there was in it. Such were called "scalawags."

The better class of whites stood aghast and helpless at the further impoverishment of their already bankrupt states. Many kept a sullen, bitter silence; but the more vicious class formed a secret organization known as the "Ku Klux Klan" with the object of intimidating the black voter. These governments were sustained by the military arm. The Republican party as a whole received the blame. There were many thousands of whites in the South at the close of the war who were in sympathy with the Republican party; but now, almost to a man, they turned against it and joined the Democrats. For many years thereafter the South was known as the "solid" South. Before the war the South was scarcely more Democratic than Whig; and it was not the war that made it solidly Democratic,—it was preëminently the carpetbag governments.²³³

The carpetbag governments disappeared with the withdrawal of the troops, and the state governments immediately passed again into the hands of the white men.²³⁴ And this was most natural. Nothing else could possibly have been expected. The white race had labored for centuries to attain

²³¹ McCall's "Thaddeus Stevens," American Statesman Series, p. 303.

²³² Lalor's "Cyclopedia," Vol. III, p. 554.

²³³ And, it may be added, the race question helped to keep it solid so long. See the following pages.

²³⁴ President Johnson had issued a universal pardon in December, 1868, and in May, 1872, Congress removed the disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment, except in a few cases.

self-government. It paid more than 99 per cent of the taxes. Could it be possible that the government of these great communities should be turned over to a landless, penniless, homeless, illiterate race that knew not the first principles of self-government? Such a spectacle is unknown in the world's history. Where the brains and property are on the one side and most of the ignorance and poverty on the other, the former will rule at any cost. The cost in this case was too often violence and fraud; but under the same conditions the same results must have followed in the North, or anywhere else.

The rule of the white man is essential to southern progress. Can it be said, on general principles, or on the basis of the carpetbag governments, that the black race could have developed the South as it has been developed since the war? The writer of this volume believes himself to be as nearly without race prejudice as a normal white man can be; but he believes that all thoughtful people will agree that the great development of the South since the war—in art, in science, literature, education, and in material resources—could not have been, except under the domination of the white race.

Then arises the question, Why do not the two races blend and coöperate in matters of government? This brings up the so-called race problem, one of the most serious and menacing questions before the American people to-day. In two respects the two races have refused to blend—politically and socially. Nor is it possible to coerce them. It is folly to attempt by legislative acts, or by moral pressure, to force unnatural relations between them. Nature seems to have drawn a line between the races that man has no power to obliterate. In matters of business the two races may have

and do have the most cordial relations, but in politics and in the social circle there is a gulf between them, almost as wide now as at the close of the war. For a generation after the war the North reproached the South for its attitude toward the colored man, and in so far as this pertained to violence and abuse, the reproach was just; but in matters of politics the North has come to take practically the same ground as held all along by the South. I make no attempt to explain why the white man will not admit the black man as a partner in governmental affairs; this belongs to the domain of the sociologist; but there are the facts, and the instinct far transcends any party allegiance. It is not a tenet of Democratic doctrine peculiar to that party. The Republicans have reached the same attitude. For many years after the war there were colored Republicans in both houses of Congress; to-day (1905) there is not one in either House. The Republican state convention in North Carolina in September, 1902, as in several other Southern states the same year, refused to admit a single black man to its membership.²³⁵ In recent years the solidity of the South has been broken,²³⁶ but this was not done until the Republicans threw the race question into the background and made other issues paramount. We want no solid South, nor solid North, no dividing on sectional lines in American politics. As above stated, the race question is not a political question, and if the Democrats of the North were to attempt to force their brethren of the South in this matter, the South would soon be solidly Republican.

What, then, of the negro in the future? He can become equal to the white man in the government of the South only

²³⁵ See the *Outlook*, Vol. LXXII, p. 2,591.

²³⁶ Notably in Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky.

when he makes himself an equal force in civilization. And perhaps this may never be, for Nature has done more for his pale-faced brother than for him. What, then, of the negro in the future? The best thing remains to be told, namely: The negro is quite safe and his happiness quite secure under the white man's government. The white man at this time makes every law in every southern state, but in no case, aside from those pertaining to the franchise, do the laws now discriminate against the black man. There is not a colored child in any city, village or township of the whole South that has not access to a free public school, established under the white man's government, and supported by his money.²³⁷ So in property rights, the negro stands before the law on a level with his white brother. If the time shall ever come when the negro can make himself an equal force with the white man in matters of government, he need not build the edifice; there it stands ready for him to occupy, there is the unchangeable law, making him an equal, in the last three amendments to the Constitution—so much for congressional reconstruction. Meantime if he is denied a free ballot, if he is denied a part in making the laws, he still enjoys the same protection under the laws with the men who make them.

There still remains the social problem. In this the line between the races is more tensely drawn than is the political line, and all attempts at coercion are worse than folly. Why should there be any attempt at coercion? Why should not the races remain apart socially and each be content with his own society? If the white man is content with the society of his own race, why should not the negro be content with

²³⁷ Except in some localities where schools are not provided for either race. The whites still pay above 90 per cent of the taxes. See Curry's "The South," p. 238.

his? Constitutions, congresses, and courts are powerless to change the social relations between the races. Until this natural difference between them is properly recognized, this great problem cannot be solved.

The future of the negro rests chiefly with himself. The great curse of the race to-day is, not the want of a free ballot, but the want of ambition to *do* something and to *be* somebody. Vast numbers of the southern blacks are of the listless, aimless class who aspire to nothing, who are content to live in squalor and ignorance. But there are noble exceptions; there are many southern colored men who are striving to uplift their race to a higher plane of civilization. If the bulk of the race would follow the guidance of that most useful of all colored men in the United States, Booker T. Washington, the race question would soon cease to be troublesome.

A final word must here be said about congressional reconstruction. The process of the "undoing of reconstruction" began with the downfall of the carpetbag governments, continued for more than thirty years, and resulted in the complete restoration of the whites to power throughout the South. The first stage in this process was marked by violence and disorder in the extreme, the most prominent feature being the work of the Ku Klux. This condition led Congress to pass the Enforcement Act of 1870, the Ku Klux Act of 1871, and an additional Civil Rights Bill in 1875. There were also Federal Elections acts passed in 1871 and 1872. But in spite of all this, every southern state that had seceded turned Democratic, beginning with Tennessee in 1869 and ending with Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina in 1877. But as violence in the South against the black voter always awakened an outcry from the

North, a new plan was inaugurated about 1877, which marks the beginning of the second stage of the undoing of reconstruction. During this period, which continued till 1890, the whites kept control chiefly by sharp practice, such as gerrymandering and ballot-box juggling, by which the ignorant blacks were easily managed.²³⁸

Meantime, a series of Supreme Court decisions, if we may anticipate a little more, served to encourage the southern democracy in its methods. A decision of 1873, known as the Slaughter House Cases, to be referred to later, greatly weakened the Fourteenth Amendment as compared with its earlier intended meaning, and other later decisions continued this weakening process. In a decision of 1875 and another in 1882, the Enforcement Act²³⁹ of 1870 and the Ku Klux Act were rendered null by their being confined to state action, and not to individuals who conspired to deprive negroes of their rights, and in 1883 the Supreme Court pronounced the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional.

During this period the equality of the negro with the white man was recognized in law, though not in fact. But in 1890 the third and last stage of the process of disfranchising the blacks began. In this year Mississippi applied an-

²³⁸ All sorts of devices were employed. Sometimes the negroes were obliged to travel thirty or forty miles to vote, where rivers without bridges were to be crossed, and all the ferries would be tied up on election day. In one town where a poll tax was required, and the Republicans had furnished hundreds of the negroes with tax receipts for a certain election, the Democrats managed to have a circus in town on election day, and arranged to have tax receipts accepted for admission. The election booth was deserted by the blacks while the circus was crowded. See Professor W. A. Dunning's "Undoing of Reconstruction," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 88, p. 437 sq.

²³⁹ All the Force Acts were repealed by a Democratic Congress in 1894.

other method without treading on the Fifteenth Amendment. The state adopted a constitution which shut out nearly all the black voters by a property and educational test, while the ignorant white voter was taken care of through the "reasonable interpretation" of the constitution clause. South Carolina followed in 1895 with an "understanding" clause to save the illiterate white voter; for the white election officer may, all unconsciously of course, decide that the ignorant negro does not understand the constitution, while the equally ignorant white man does. Louisiana, in 1898, protected the ignorant whites by a new device known as the "Grandfather clause" by which a man could not be denied the right to vote if his father or grandfather was a voter in 1867. North Carolina followed this example in 1900, and other states have since then adopted similar constitutions. These new state constitutions render the Fifteenth Amendment and parts of the Fourteenth almost a dead letter at the South. Some of these constitutions have been tested before the Federal Supreme Court but in each case the matter has been dismissed for want of jurisdiction,²⁴⁰ nor have the Republicans of the North shown a disposition to apply the test of the Fourteenth Amendment to reduce the representation of the Southern states in Congress, in consequence of their disfranchising so large a portion of their voters.

IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON

By far the greatest historic trial ever held in the United States was that of Andrew Johnson by the Senate in the spring of 1868, after his impeachment by the House of Representatives. The strife between the President and Con-

²⁴⁰ See *Williams vs. Mississippi*, 170 U. S. 213; the *Nation* of April 30 and May 7, 1903.



1814—EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON—1869.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative, in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

gress that began in December, 1865, increased in violence for two and a half years, culminating in the impeachment by the House and the trial by the Senate. Had Lincoln been spared, he might have succeeded in his method of reconstruction. He had won the hearts of the people as few had ever done, and they would probably have sustained him in defiance of Congress. But Johnson had never won the people, and without the aid of Congress he was powerless to carry out his plans. Moreover, Lincoln was a man of infinite tact, and he could parry the blows of his enemies with his consummate wit. Johnson was peculiarly lacking in these respects, and if Congress had the temerity to oppose Lincoln with all his resources of power, would it not more readily set its hand against this accidental President?

The warfare between the President and Congress went on month by month, and on the 2d of March, 1867, Congress passed over the President's veto, not only the Great Reconstruction Act, which we have noticed, but also the Tenure of Office Bill. By this law the power of the President was greatly curtailed. The Constitution provides that many of the more important official appointments of the President must be ratified by the Senate, but all such officials were subject to removal by the President alone. So the practice had continued by common consent from the founding of the government; but the Tenure of Office Act required the consent of the Senate for removals, as well as for appointments. Two reasons are conceivable for the enactment of this law: first, a fear entertained by some that the President designed some attack on the powers and privileges of Congress; and a personal dislike of Johnson, coupled with a desire to curb his power wherever possible.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ In other ways the power of the President was also curbed. A

Johnson, on becoming President, had retained the Cabinet of Lincoln. At first the members generally agreed with the new President's policy; but as the contest grew hot, several of them took the side of Congress, and for this reason three of them resigned from the Cabinet in the spring of 1868. The secretary of war, however, Edwin M. Stanton, though condemning the President's course, refused to resign. As the months passed all personal relations ceased between the President and his secretary, and yet the latter clung to his office. In August, 1867, Johnson addressed a note to Stanton requesting his resignation, but Stanton bluntly refused to resign. A week later Johnson suspended him from the office and appointed General Grant secretary *ad interim*. The Tenure of Office Law permitted such action during the recess of Congress, but required the President to make a report of it to the Senate at its next meeting. If the Senate approved his action, it stood; if not, the old official resumed his place.

Accordingly, President Johnson reported his action to the Senate on its meeting in December, and some weeks later he was astonished when that body refused to concur in the removal of Stanton. No explanation can be given for this action of the Senate, except on the ground of personal feeling against Andrew Johnson. There was no public demand for Grant's removal, for at this moment Grant was the most popular man in the United States. Thus Johnson had forced upon him a secretary with whom he was not on speaking

"rider" of the Army Appropriation Bill took from him the command of the army and gave it to the general of the army. In January, 1867, a law was passed denying him the power to proclaim general amnesty; but Johnson deemed the law unconstitutional, and went on issuing pardons at his pleasure.

terms, and the United States Senate never did a less creditable act. Johnson's anger rose to the boiling point. He even chided General Grant and made a personal enemy of him for giving up the office too readily on hearing of the action of the Senate. Grant had been on very friendly terms with Johnson, and had accompanied him on his "swinging round the circle" tour of the West. Had Johnson been possessed of a tithe of the tact of his predecessor, he would have retained the friendship of Grant at any cost. But now with a few reproachful words he ended their friendship, and they were never afterward reconciled.²⁴² No man in public life ever played into the hands of his enemies more completely than did Andrew Johnson. The majority of the Republican party had been looking forward to making Grant their candidate for President in the approaching campaign, and they were not pleased with the warm friendship between him and their most implacable enemy. They were now highly gratified at this open rupture between the two.

Stanton had resumed his place in the Cabinet. But Johnson brought matters to a crisis when, on the 21st of February, he defied the Senate by dismissing Stanton from the Cabinet. The country was startled at the reckless courage of the President. The Senate was enraged at the defiance of its authority, but it could do nothing except condemn the action of Johnson in a resolution. This it did, as Blaine says, "promptly, resentfully, almost passionately."²⁴³

With the House rests the power of impeachment. Many were Johnson's enemies in the House. They had attempted

²⁴² The first hitch in their friendship, however, had occurred the year before, when Johnson, against Grant's wishes, removed Sheridan from command of a district in the South.

²⁴³ "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. II, p. 355.

to impeach him the year before, and had failed. Since then they had watched with eagle eye for an opportunity to renew their efforts, and they promptly seized on his quarrel with the Senate. On the same day that Johnson sent to the Senate a notice of Stanton's removal, a resolution was brought before the House that "*Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.*" The resolution was referred to a committee with Stevens at its head. It reported next day and recommended that the resolution pass without debate. Three days, however, were taken for debate, and when the vote was taken the ballot stood 126 for impeachment and 47 against it. Thus the President of the United States, for the first and only time in our history, was legally impeached, and he must now stand before the bar of the Senate and answer for his alleged crimes. The House proceeded to elect seven of its members as prosecutors in the trial that was to follow.²⁴⁴

Johnson meantime seemed calm and undisturbed by the great movement going on in Congress. He quietly sent to the Senate the name of Thomas Ewing as secretary of war. This for once was a tactful stroke. It had been rumored that Johnson meant to usurp the government and to place it in the hands of the military. But the appointment of Ewing, a man of well-known honesty and patriotism, rendered all such rumors idle and foolish.

THE GREAT TRIAL

The Senate sat in grave silence with Chief Justice Chase as its presiding officer, when, on the 5th of March, 1868,

²⁴⁴ The men elected were Boutwell and Butler of Massachusetts, Williams, Bingham, and Stevens of Pennsylvania, Wilson of Iowa, and Logan of Illinois. All were intensely hostile to the President.

the members of the House filed into the chamber, led by their chosen managers, to present formal charges against the President of the United States. The charges were eleven in number, the most important being the second, charging Mr. Johnson with violating the Constitution by removing Mr. Stanton in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act; the third, charging him with appointing another to fill the office when no vacancy existed; and the eleventh, charging the President with stating in a public speech that the Thirty-ninth Congress was not a lawful body because certain Southern states were not represented.

The most serious of these, and that on which the trial hinged, was the removal of Stanton. Let us look into this for a moment. When the Tenure of Office Bill was pending before the Senate, it was agreed by a majority of the senators that Cabinet officials be not included in the law, but the House insisted that they be included, and won its point; not, however, without bringing out some significant remarks from leading Republican senators. "If a Cabinet officer," said John Sherman, "should attempt to hold his office for a moment beyond the time when he retains the entire confidence of the President, I would not vote to retain him." Similar expressions were heard from Senators Fessenden, Edmunds and others.²⁴⁵ The attempt of Congress to force upon the President a confidential adviser in whom he had no confidence and whom he personally disliked, furnishes a spectacle unknown before or since in our government. Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," discusses this subject with great fairness, and agrees with every thoughtful student of the subject at this time that Congress was clearly in the wrong and was prompted by ignoble motives.

²⁴⁵ See Blaine, Vol. II, p. 352.

And the more does this appear when it is remembered that the defense sought to show at the trial that one of the objects of Johnson in removing Stanton was to bring the matter before the Supreme Court in order to test the validity of the Tenure of Office Law.

After the formal presentation of the articles of impeachment on March 5, the high court adjourned, and the trial was not properly begun until the 30th. The President's counsel was composed of men of the highest ability. Among them were Benjamin R. Curtis, former justice of the Supreme Court, and William M. Evarts, the eminent New York lawyer.

In the course of the trial Mr. Evarts offered to prove that while the Tenure of Office Act was before President Johnson, it was submitted to the Cabinet, every member of which deemed it unconstitutional, and that the duty of preparing the veto message devolved on Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton. Chief Justice Chase decided to admit this testimony, but a vote of the Senate on its admission was called for and a majority decided to exclude it. Again Mr. Evarts offered to show that the entire Cabinet had agreed that the appointees of President Lincoln could not come within the law. Mr. Chase decided that this testimony should be received, but this too was cast out by a vote of the Senate. Still again, Evarts offered, on the part of the President, to prove that he and his Cabinet agreed, before the removal of Stanton, that the legality of the Tenure of Office Law should be tested, and that one object in dismissing Stanton was to bring the matter before the Supreme Court. But even this testimony was ruled out by the eminent jury. Certainly this was an extraordinary method of dealing with an accused before

a court. When a man, on trial for the alleged violation of a questionable law, offers to show that his motive was to put the law itself on trial, and his offer is rejected, what unbiased observer can believe otherwise than that such rejection is based on prejudice?

Among the witnesses in the great trial were men of national fame, members of the Cabinet, and generals of the army. Gideon Wells and General Sherman each sat for two days under the cross-fire of the contending lawyers. By the 22d of April the testimony was all in, and then began the fierce oratorical contest of the lawyers. For many days they furnished the country with a rare intellectual treat. Not until May 16 was the Senate ready to vote on the great question—whether the President of the United States should be acquitted or deposed from his office.

There were fifty-four senators, and it would require two thirds, or thirty-six, to convict. Eight of the senators were Democratic, and these, having no quarrel with the President, were sure to vote for his acquittal. So also were four others, who were known as administration Republicans. In addition to the votes of these twelve, seven more were needed, from the regular Republican ranks, to save the President. Many of the senators filed their opinions, giving their reasons, before the voting began; but enough had declined to do this to leave the outcome in doubt. The doubtful class was led by Fessenden of Maine and Trumbull of Illinois.

The voting began on the 16th of May. The occasion was a solemn and momentous one; for the decision on this great question must be a precedent for generations to come. The interest became intense as the moment for

taking the first ballot approached. The members of the House were admitted to the floor of the Senate chamber, and the galleries were packed with high officials of the government, foreign ministers, and citizens of every rank from all parts of the country.²⁴⁶ Outside the chamber surged a multitude unable to gain admittance. Telegraph operators sat at their places ready to flash the news to the uttermost parts of the Union—to the cities, towns, and railroad stations, where eager throngs had gathered to await the verdict of the Senate. Within the chamber the silence was almost painful as the roll call proceeded, and each senator rose in his place and pronounced "guilty," or "not guilty." The first vote was taken on the eleventh impeachment article, as it in a general way embodied all the rest. The result was thirty-five for conviction and nineteen for acquittal. The President therefore escaped deposition by a *single* vote. The Senate then adjourned to the 26th of May. When the Court of Impeachment met again and voted on the second and third articles, the vote stood the same as before. The court then adjourned *sine die*; the remaining articles were never voted on; the great trial was over.

Secretary Stanton immediately resigned his office, and General Schofield was appointed in his stead. Stanton had served as secretary of war from the time of his appointment by Lincoln in 1862, and no man ever filled that office with greater fidelity and devotion to the public service. He was an unrelenting foe to all jobbery and corruption, and while we cannot sympathize with him in this contest with Johnson, we honor his memory for his unselfish public service. Soon after the trial his health

²⁴⁶ Blaine, Vol. II, p. 374.

failed and the next year he sank into the grave, after being honored by President Grant with an appointment to the Supreme Court.

Next to the President and Stanton the one most concerned in the outcome of the trial was Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio. Had the trial gone against Johnson, Wade, as president of the Senate, would have been President of the United States until the following spring. He had missed it by a single vote. In our history but two others, Aaron Burr and Samuel J. Tilden, have come so near the great prize and yet missed it. Wade's political life was soon to close; it had reached its zenith and it took a downward turn at the great trial. He had been a powerful leader. For eighteen years his voice had been heard in the Senate chamber. The public awarded him high honor; but now he voted against Johnson and thus for himself. His friends had boasted that, if he could not give his voice for acquittal, he would refrain from voting at all; but he voted nevertheless. The public never fully forgave him. It honored him still, but not so highly as before.²⁴⁷

The verdict of the Senate was at first a disappointment to the Republican party; but when the excitement of the moment had subsided, a general satisfaction with the verdict was manifest. The people could not wholly forget the noble stand for the Union taken by Andrew Johnson at the beginning of the war. They remembered, too, that, with all his faults, Johnson had risen of his own force from the lowest depths of society, and such a record is the highest passport to public esteem in America. Nor

²⁴⁷ Within the same week Wade was defeated as candidate for Vice President, and these disasters closely followed his defeat for reëlection to the Senate.

could the belief be eradicated from the public mind that the trial was not altogether a fair one, that many of the members of Congress were unconsciously prejudiced against the President. In ordinary criminal cases the members of the jury are required to be without previous personal relations with the accused; but here was a jury the greater part of which had, for a long season, been engaged in a bitter contest with the accused. They were men of the highest training and education, but this did not lift them above the common weaknesses of humanity. Education gives a man greater self-control and develops any talent with which nature has endowed him; but it cannot implant new virtues, nor train out of a man the common follies of our nature. This highly cultured jury was in some measure partial and prejudiced, simply because it could not help being so.

The real offense of the President consisted, not in the removal of Stanton nor in anything written in the impeachment articles, but in his persistent, exasperating opposition of the party that gave him his power.²⁴⁸ Johnson had a legal, if not a moral, right to his course concerning the negro and the South; but as the enemies he made by taking this course could not reach him on account of it, they arraigned him on a technicality which under other conditions would have attracted little attention. The most gratifying fact in connection with the great trial is that during its progress there was no popular uprising, no disturbance of the social and business relations of the country, no evidence that the quiet reign of law would be disturbed, whatever the result of the trial.

²⁴⁸ See the *Nation*, Vol. VI, p. 384; Blaine, Vol. II, p. 377.

NOTES

Thaddeus Stevens.—During the last years of his life, Stevens was not only the leader in Congress, but also the leader of his party throughout the country, and congressional reconstruction was an embodiment of his ideas. So radical and relentless was he that at first Congress was unwilling to follow him, but at length came to do so, except as to his desire to confiscate the property of Confederates. Stevens's attitude toward the South arose less from a malicious feeling, than from his extreme principles of democracy, almost approaching the John Brown type; though, unlike Brown, he shrank from bloodshed. His love for the black man seemed to reach an abnormal state, and just before his death he requested that his body be buried in an obscure private cemetery, because the public cemeteries excluded negroes by their charters. Stevens was a man of unusual wit. On one occasion, while speaking in the House, a certain very loquacious member, who always affected great humility and put a low estimate on his own ideas, desired Stevens to yield him the floor for a time. Stevens did so, saying "Now I yield the floor to Mr. —, who will make a few feeble remarks." (McCall's "Stevens," p. 314.) During the last months of his life, Stevens was so weak that he had to be carried about in a chair. One day he said to the two stalwart men who were carrying him, "Who will carry me when you two strong men are dead and gone?"

Nebraska and Alaska.—Nebraska was part of the Louisiana Purchase. The country was partly explored in 1804 by Lewis and Clark. In 1854 it was organized as a territory in the famous Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In 1863 Nebraska was reduced to its present limits, and in 1867, having sixty thousand inhabitants, it was admitted as a state. President Johnson vetoed the bill of admission because it forbade the new state ever to deny a man the right to vote on account of race or color. But it passed over the veto, and Nebraska became a state on March 1, 1867.

Within the same year, 1867, the territory of Alaska was purchased by the United States from Russia for \$7,200,000. Russia acquired the right to Alaska through the discoveries of Vitus Bering in 1741. It is a dreary, mountainous region of long, severe winters. Its valleys are fertile, and at the time of the purchase the country was inhabited by various Indian tribes, with a few white men and Chinese. In recent years it has been found to be exceedingly rich in gold deposits, while the seal fisheries have amounted to over \$12,000,000. The whole country comprises 599,446 square miles. See map following p. 114, Vol. V.

CHAPTER XXXVI

LITERATURE AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

IT is not easy to draw an exact line dividing one period of our literary life from another. Many writers, for example, who did much of their best work during and after the war have been noticed in a preceding chapter, and others who became famous before the war must be noticed in the present chapter. It is not our purpose to deal with current literature, nor with living authors, except perhaps with a few whose life-work is, for the most part, in the past.

THE ELDER POETS

Walt Whitman (1819-92), the son of a carpenter, was born on Long Island, and was very indifferently educated. He was a carpenter, a printer, an army nurse, and a poet. In 1855 he published *Leaves of Grass*, and the volume, republished and enlarged from time to time, represents his chief life-work. Whitman was egotistical. He proclaimed himself the apostle of democracy. His philosophy was that all things are of equal value—the great and the small, man and nature, the good and the bad. This carries the theory of democracy to its ultimate limit, and the doctrine is as old as Brahminism.

Whitman's verse is the most irregular and unconventional to be found in American poetry. He wrote in the interests of the democracy, but no poet is so little read

among the masses. By some critics he is denounced as an uncouth egotist with no poetic powers; by others he is hailed as a true prophet and a poet of great creative power. It is true that he was coarse and uncouth and that much of his verse is meaningless jargon, but it is also true that here and there one may get glimpses of striking originality that belongs only to the creative soul. Here and there is revealed an exquisite poetic fancy, as where he speaks of grass as the "beautiful uncut hair of graves," or again, an extraordinary "barbaric" power of expression, as in the line, "I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world." Whitman's most popular poem and probably his best is *O Captain, My Captain!* written on the death of Lincoln. This is wholly unlike Whitman's usual irregular style, and is the best effusion called forth by the assassination of Lincoln.

One of the best known literary men of his times was Bayard Taylor, who was born of Quaker parentage in a Pennsylvania village in 1825. Appointed minister to Germany by President Hayes, he died in Berlin in 1878. Taylor was poor, had but a public school education, and was extremely ambitious to make a great name in literature. While still a boy he traveled afoot through Europe and wrote descriptions of his observations for the New York Tribune. Later he traveled in nearly all countries on the globe and published many volumes of travel. He was a lecturer, a novelist, a journalist, but his ambition was to be a great poet. The world applauded him as one of the most successful men of his time, but he died at the age of fifty-three with a deep sense of disappointment. He saw that his work as a poet did not and never could give him

rank among the greatest, and the ambition of his life was not achieved.

Taylor's poetry is still widely read; it is pleasing and not devoid of literary merit, but it no doubt lacks the elements necessary to immortality. Among his best poems are *Lars*, *Amram's Wooing*, *Masque of the Gods*, a very literal translation of Goethe's Faust, and the beautiful lyric, *The Bedouin Song*.

BEDOUIN SONG

From the Desert I come to thee
On a stallion shod with fire,
And the winds are left behind
In the speed of my desire.

Under thy window I stand,
And the midnight hears my cry:
I love thee, I love but thee,
With a love that shall not die

*Till the sun grows cold,
And the stars are old,
And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold!*

Look from thy window and see
My passion and my pain;
I lie on the sands below,
And I faint in thy disdain.

Let the night-winds touch thy brow
With the heat of my burning sigh,
And melt thee to hear the vow
Of a love that shall not die

*Till the sun grows cold,
And the stars are old,
And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold!*

My steps are nightly driven,
By the fever in my breast,
To hear from thy lattice breathed
The word that shall give me rest.

Open the door of thy heart,
And open thy chamber door,
And my kisses shall teach thy lips
The love that shall fade no more

*Till the sun grows cold,
And the stars are old,
And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold!*

From the far West the voices of Bret Harte and Joaquin Miller have attracted the ear of the nation. Francis Bret Harte, born in New York in 1839, went to the West as a boy, became a school teacher, a miner, a printer, and at length was connected with "The Overland Monthly." He later became connected with "The Atlantic Monthly," and still later was appointed to a government position in Germany, then in Scotland. The last years of his life were spent in London.

The greater part of Harte's work is prose in the form of short stories, and as a writer of short stories he stands without a peer. Harte has pictured the wild, rough life in the mines of the far West as no other could do. His *Luck of the Roaring Camp*, *The Outcasts of Poker Flat*, *Miggles*, *Tennessee's Partner*, and a few

other short stories are so nearly perfect as to admit of no adverse criticism. But it is a strange fact that in all his voluminous later story-writing Harte never rose to the level of these early productions.

As a poet Harte is known for *The Heathen Chinee*, one of the best known American productions. *Truthful James*, and *A Newport Romance* are also among his well-known poems. In England Harte was hailed as a great American genius and he became a social lion when he made his home in London.

Cincinnatus Heine Miller, known as "Joaquin Miller," a man of far less originality than Harte, has nevertheless made a name for himself as "The Poet of the Sierras." Born in Indiana in the year 1841, Miller, as a youth, made his home in California, where he labored in the mines as Harte had done. He also became a printer and at length a poet. In 1870 Miller published his "Songs of the Sierras," which attracted immediate notice throughout America and England. Other volumes followed—"Songs of the Sunlands," "Songs of the Mexican Seas," and "Songs of the Desert." Miller also wrote a few novels and a drama. While Joaquin Miller was a true poet in his chosen field, in his work is easily traced the influence of other writers, especially of Byron and Swinburne.

Another writer who gave promise of becoming a rival of Bret Harte as a painter of rough Western life was John Hay, who might have made an enviable name in literature, had he chosen literature as a profession. Born in Indiana in 1838, Hay was admitted to the bar in Illinois. For some years he was private secretary to President Lincoln, and, many years later, he and his colleague, John G. Nicolay,

published a masterly work in ten volumes, *Abraham Lincoln—A History*.

The best of Hay's short dialect poems picturing western life are found in "Pike County Ballads," published in 1871. The story of Jim Bludso, a Mississippi engineer, is widely known. Mr. Hay spent but a small portion of his life in the pursuit of literature. As a statesman, especially as a framer of foreign treaties when secretary of state, Mr. Hay made a great name in American history.

The South during this period presents us with four poets of national prominence. The ablest of these was Sydney Lanier, who, as a poetic genius, must be placed in the first rank of American poets. Sydney Lanier was born in Georgia in 1842. He was a college graduate, a soldier in the Confederate service, a musician of a high order, and a poet. He was a man of much originality, a consummate artist, and a master of technique. His later years were a long battle with consumption, of which he died in 1881 at the age of thirty-nine. At the time of his death he was professor of literature in Johns Hopkins University.

Lanier wrote several prose works—a few novels, "Science of English Verse," and other works. But it is as a poet that he will be remembered. His best poems are *From This Hundred Terraced Height*, *The Stirrup-Cup*, *The Symphony*, *Sunrise*, and his masterpiece, *The Marshes of Glynn*. It would seem that the marshes, uninhabitable swamps, would be the last choice of a poet as a subject for an imaginative poem; but this poet has cast, on this prosaic subject, a glamour of romance that is entrancing to the lover of the beautiful. His genius, like that of Hawthorne, was of too fine a quality to reach the masses, and to the great majority of the people the name of Lanier is unknown. Had Lanier

lived to the maturity of his powers, he might have left a name in literature scarcely inferior to that of any of the New England masters.

FROM THE MARSHES OF GLYNN

How still the plains of the waters be!
The tide is in his ecstasy.
The tide is at his highest height:
And it is night.

And now from the Vast of the Lord will the waters of sleep
Roll in on the souls of men,
But who will reveal to our waking ken
The forms that swim and the shapes that creep
Under the waters of sleep?
And I would I could know what swimmeth below when the
tide comes in
On the length and the breadth of the marvelous marshes
of Glynn.

The three other writers of the South to be noticed in this connection were William Gilmore Simms (1806-70), Paul Hamilton Hayne (1830-86), and Henry Timrod (1829-67). All were born in Charleston, South Carolina. All were extremely southern in their sympathies, and all, surviving the war period, were ever ready with the pen to uphold the southern cause.

Of these three Simms, who properly belongs to the generation preceding the war, was by far the best known and the most voluminous writer. Simms had not the advantage of aristocratic birth, which meant so much in those days in the South, nor was he deeply or broadly educated. Feeling the inspiration to become an author, he set bravely out on his

career. Few writers have put out so much matter, prose and poetry, as Simms. For forty years he produced an average of two volumes a year besides doing a vast amount of journalistic work. Such a record indicates that his work could not have been carefully and well done. And so we find it. He served his day and generation only.

Simms began to publish poems while very young. They deserved and attracted but little attention. At the age of twenty-seven he published his first novel, *Martin Faber*, and the next year *Guy Rivers*. These introduced him to the public, brought him a fair degree of popularity, and led him to devote his life to literature. One of his best stories is *The Yemassee*, a story of colonial times in South Carolina. A number of his best stories deal with border warfare in the South during the Revolution. Many of his romances have been forgotten by the reading public, even their titles; others are remembered only by name. Almost none of them are now read. Simms also wrote many Civil War ballads for the southern side, but they are not up to the standard of the best.

Paul Hamilton Hayne, born in the year of the great debate between his famous uncle, Robert Y. Hayne, and Daniel Webster, was one of the most conspicuous writers in the South at the coming of the war. He received a good education and read law, but abandoned the legal profession for literature. He had published three small volumes at the opening of the Civil War, when he took up arms for the southern cause. Hayne was a poet of very considerable ability, but his fortunes were broken by the war, after which he settled in Georgia, where he continued to court the muse to the end of his life, twenty years later.

Henry Timrod was also a poet of much promise, but, even in a greater degree than Hayne, he was ruined by the war. At the burning of Columbia on the approach of Sherman's army all that he had was consumed, and he died two years later in poverty. *The Cotton Boll* is his best-known poem. His friend Hayne edited and published his poems in 1873. Timrod was more passionate and perhaps abler than Hayne, who, in turn, was a truer poet than Simms. But all must be classed below Sidney Lanier.

Other southern writers of considerable note were, John Esten Cooke, of Virginia, whose novels have been favorably compared with those of Simms; John P. Kennedy of Baltimore, a friend of Poe; Father Ryan, the poet-priest, who wrote war lyrics and religious poems; and Richard Henry Wilde, the author of *My Life is Like a Summer Rose*.

The great tragedy of the Civil War has not yet been adequately treated in literature. It is true that we have some excellent war lyrics, but none of them are of the highest literary merit. Among the best are the following: *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; *All Quiet along the Potomac*, by Mrs. Ethelinda Beers, "Ethel Lynn"; *Maryland, My Maryland*, by James Ryder Randall; *Dixie*, by Albert Pike; *Barbara Frietchie*, by Whittier; *Sheridan's Ride*, by Thomas Buchanan Read; *The Blue and the Gray*, by Francis M. Finch; *The Old Sergeant*, by Forceythe Willson; *The Battle Cry of Freedom* and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching*, by George Frederick Root; *The Confederate Flag*, by an unknown writer, and various martial poems by Henry Howard Brownell.

THE LATER POETS

One of the truest lyric poets of the latter half of the century is Thomas Bailey Aldrich, who resides in Boston, and who was born in New Hampshire in 1836. Mr. Aldrich caught the public ear at the age of twenty when he published *Babie Bell*. Since then he has written many short poems, sonnets and quatrains which prove him a man of genius, of high culture, and an excessive lover of the beautiful. He is a true poet of Nature. He has written a few prose works, but his fame will rest on his poetry.

Another who may be favorably compared with Aldrich is Richard Henry Stoddard. Born in the same year with Bayard Taylor, 1825, Stoddard and Taylor were fast friends for many years. In 1856 Stoddard put out a volume of poems, "Songs of Summer," which brought him recognition. He belongs to the imaginary school. His work, like that of Aldrich, is highly finished and technically perfect. Stoddard is not only a poet, he is a literary critic of great acumen.

Among literary critics, however, the ablest since Lowell is Edmund Clarence Stedman, who was born in Hartford in 1833. No student of literature can ignore his "Victorian Poets," 1875, and the "Poets of America," published in 1886. Stedman is also a poet of no mean standing. In 1862 he published "Poems Lyric and Idyllic." Stedman is eminently a city poet. His themes are seldom drawn from Nature; they are largely drawn from the artificial life of the city. Mr. Stedman is known as the banker-poet. He was also a war correspondent for a New York newspaper during the Civil War. His fame in future will doubtless rest chiefly on his literary criticism.

George Henry Boker (1823-90), a wealthy Philadelphian,

was one of the very few American poets who made a fair success as a dramatist. He was also the author of many short poems, chiefly war songs. His dirge on the death of General Phil Kearney is one of the sweetest in the language. Boker was especially happy in his verbal melody.—Charles Godfrey Leland (1824-1902), also a Philadelphian, wrote many ballads in a dialect resembling that of the Pennsylvania German. His *Hans Britman's Barty* is widely known.

Eugene Field (1850-95) was born in St. Louis, educated in Massachusetts, and spent the last twelve years of his life as an editor in Chicago. His poems are usually pictures of childhood. With his most popular child poem, *The Little Boy Blue*, he touched the world's heart.—James Whitcomb Riley, born in 1854, is known as "The Hoosier Poet." His idylls of country life show much poetic power. Many of them are written in dialect.—John James Piatt is another poet of the middle West who has done much to give his section a literary standing. He was born in Indiana in 1835, has spent much time in Washington, and now resides in Ohio. He has published several volumes of verse. Mrs. Piatt, his wife is also a successful writer of verse.—Will Carleton, born in Michigan in 1845, has won wide recognition by his pathetic and humorous farm ballads.—Richard Watson Gilder (b. 1844), now editor of the *Century Magazine*, published in 1893 "Five Books of Song," a collection of his poems. They display a delicate fancy and highly-refined taste.—Edgar Fawcett, born in New York in 1847, now resides in London. He has published many volumes of verse and prose.

Among women poets of the period the Cary sisters must be given a place among the first. Alice Cary (1820-71)

and Phœbe Cary (1824-71) were born in a cottage near Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1851 they moved to New York City, where their home became a center of gatherings of literary people. The poems of these sisters, which were very widely read at the time, are of a short, lyrical form. They do not indicate genius or creative power; they were valued for delicate, truly feminine simplicity.—Another woman poet whose works had many readers a generation ago was Lucy Larcom (1826-93), who began life as a mill girl in Massachusetts. She later became a teacher and a poet, and was greatly encouraged to continue writing by the praise of John G. Whittier. She wrote patriotic war songs, nature poems, and religious poems. Except the little poem, *Hannah Binding Shoes*, most of her work is now forgotten.

Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson is chiefly remembered for her *Century of Dishonor*, a prose work in defense of the Indians; but she was also a poet. After living happily for eleven years with her husband, Captain Hunt, she met with the great misfortune within a short time of losing her husband, her only two children, and both her parents. In her bitterness of grief she turned to poetry and attracted considerable attention as a writer of force. Some years later she married a Mr. Jackson of Colorado. Most of her later life was spent in studying the Indian question. In addition to *A Century of Dishonor* she wrote *Ramona*, a novel dealing with the Indians. This is strongly written, but the hope of the author, that it would be for the Indian what *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been for the slave, was never realized. Other women poets of the time were Margaret Preston, a southerner who has written some delightful lyrics; Emma Lazarus, a Jewess of New York; Celia Thaxter, whose poems of the sea have won high praise for

their author; and Edith Matilda Thomas, a native of Ohio and a resident of Staten Island.

THE NOVELISTS

We live in an era of prose fiction. The output through the various publishing houses, the magazines and even the newspapers is astonishing in its extent. Much of this is of only ephemeral interest. Especially is this true of the short story—the great channel of modern literary expression. Much of our fiction, however, is of a fairly high degree of merit, and, except for the dime novel, it is morally elevating, or at least harmless. Since the rise of our two leading novelists—W. D. Howells and Henry James—there has been a strong tendency in fiction toward realism—a photographing of life in its every-day character, with little regard to plot, heroic action, or to romantic coloring.

Henry James, born in New York in 1843, is the founder of the realistic school. Mr. James has lived abroad, chiefly in London, for many years. He is a cosmopolitan rather than an American and this fact is clearly shown in his writings. He has published many novels, the first of importance being *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1875. He presents life as he finds it, his stories being for the most part without hero, plot, or coloring. His style is almost faultless, and but for that fact and for his unusual analytic powers his novels would scarcely attract the reading public.

William Dean Howells, a native of Ohio, born in 1837, now a resident of New York, is often referred to as our foremost living man of letters. He is as truly a realist as James. In an almost perfect style and with little regard to plot, he photographs life as he sees it and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions as to motive. Some of

Howells's short stories are finished with masterly skill. Among his many longer novels *Silas Lapham* is most promising for a permanent place in our literature.

Another class of novelists have been called "Novelists of the Soil," that is, novelists who picture life in the particular locality of which they write. The leading writer of this school, George Washington Cable, born in New Orleans in 1844, is now a resident of Northampton, Massachusetts. Cable first won fame with his *Old Creole Days*, 1879, a series of short stories that pictured Creole life in Louisiana as no other has ever done. The following year he published *The Grandissimes* and later *Dr. Sevier* and other novels. In Cable's style there are many pleasing surprises for the reader; his characters are drawn from life and pictured with rare skill. No stronger fiction has appeared since the war than Cable's novels.

What Cable has done for the Creoles Edward Eggleston (1837-1903) has done for the rural population of the middle West. His *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, *The End of the World*, and other stories are not the work of genius, but as faithful pictures of country life they are very attractive, especially to young readers. Eggleston did also much serviceable work in the field of history.

The post-bellum negro has two interpreters of rare skill in Joel Chandler Harris, the creator of "Uncle Remus," and Thomas Nelson Page, whose dialect stories picturing the Virginia negro are written with remarkable skill and truth to nature.

New England is represented by two venerable figures—Edward Everett Hale and Thomas Wentworth Higginson—both, at this writing, happily living. Mr. Hale in 1863 won wide attention by publishing *A Man Without a Country*.

He has written various other stories and volumes of history, but no other quite equals this one in general popularity. Mr. Higginson has won laurels as a poet, essayist and novelist. With these two should be associated John T. Trowbridge, who was born in New York in 1827. Trowbridge became a favorite with young readers by his very readable stories for boys, and by his poems *The Vagabonds* and *Darius Green and His Flying Machine*. Still another writer of this school, if school it may be called, is Dr. J. G. Holland (1819-81) who wrote novels, poems and essays that were very popular among readers who loved the didactic and the sentimental.

One of the most successful novelists of the period following the war was General Lew Wallace (1827-1905), who first won fame as a commander of armies. His story *Ben Hur, a Tale of the Christ*, though not the work of genius, has had a remarkable run. The story probably owes its popularity to the unabated interest in Christianity and its Founder—a subject that has for 2000 years absorbed more of the world's attention than any other.—A far more powerful writer than Wallace was Fitz-James O'Brien, who was born in Ireland in 1828, and who gave his life for his adopted country on the battlefield in 1862. O'Brien was reckless and wayward, but fond and lovable as a friend. His best story, *The Diamond Lens*, indicates a high order of genius. He also wrote poetry of no mean order. Associated with O'Brien as a member of the same regiment in the war was Theodore Winthrop, a descendant of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. Winthrop was born in the same year with O'Brien and also gave his life for the cause of the Union. He wrote several novels, the strongest of which is *John Brent*.

Frank R. Stockton (1834-1903) must also be named among the latter-day celebrities. His famous short story, *The Lady or the Tiger*, placed him in the forefront of novel writers. His tales are full of rich humor and fantastic situations.

The field of prose fiction has been a most inviting one to women authors, and they have vied with the sterner sex, both in quantity and quality of their products in this department of literature. Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, the daughter of a professor of Andover Theological Seminary, born in 1844, holds a firm position among present-day writers. At the age of twenty-four she wrote *Gates Ajar* and bounded into immediate popularity. She has written many other stories and has also written delightful sketches of New England life.—Other New England writers of the period who excelled in sketches from the life of the people were Rose Terry Cooke (1827-92), Jane G. Austin (1831-94), and Sarah Orne Jewett, author of *The Country Doctor* and other charming stories of rural life.

Frances Hodgson Burnett, who was born in England, has written many entertaining stories, the most popular of which is the juvenile, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. Other writers of juvenile literature are Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, and Adeline D. T. Whitney. The most successful writer in this field, however, was Louise M. Alcott, whom we have noticed in a preceding chapter.

Many strong writers of fiction cannot even be mentioned in this chapter. We have already decided not to treat of current literature. A partial list of the more prominent novelists, however, many of whom are still living and still writing, here follows:

Francis Marion Crawford, born in 1854 in Italy, where

his father, an American sculptor, was temporarily residing, who has written entertainingly of life in Italy, India, and America; Rebecca Harding Davis and her son Richard Harding Davis; Silas Wier Mitchell, a Philadelphia physician, the author of *Hugh Wynn*, a story of the Revolution, *The Youth of Washington*, and others; Owen Wister, author of *The Virginian*; Winston Churchill, who wrote three historical novels, *Richard Carvel*, *The Crossing*, and *The Crisis*; George Morgan, editor of the Philadelphia Record, and author of *The Issue*; Paul L. Ford, author of *Janice Meredith* and of various biographical works; F. Hopkinson Smith; Julian Hawthorne, son of Nathaniel Hawthorne; Captain Charles King, the writer of many stories of army life; Blanche Willis Howard; Margaret Deland; Mary M. Murfree, who has written charmingly of the Tennessee Mountains under the name "Charles Egbert Craddock;" Alice French, "Octave Thanet," who has told us about the cane brakes of Arkansas; Mary E. Wilkins; Kate Douglas Wiggin Riggs; Alice Hegan Rice; Alfred Henry Lewis; Caroline Atwater Mason; Gertrude Atherton; Katherine Cecil Thurston; Frank Norris, author of *The Octopus*, and *The Pit*; Jack London; Cyrus Townsend Brady; Edgar E. Saltus; James Lane Allen, the author of the *Choir Invisible*; Charles Gordon, "Ralph Connor;" and David Graham Phillips.

THE HUMORISTS

The American people are known the world over for their humor. We have a constant stream of jokes poured forth through the daily newspapers, the comic weeklies and other channels. Most of these will perish with the day, but we always have with us a few professional humorists, some

of whom will be remembered long after they are gone. Nothing seems too sacred to become the subject of the fun makers. Even from our misfortunes, as political corruption, the oppression of the trusts and the like, and from every situation we extract amusement. This is doubtless due, as Professor Boyesen says, to our all-leveling democracy which destroys our sense of reverence for classes and conditions.

We have spoken of such humorous writers as Irving, Holmes and Lowell; but these men were serious writers also and it remains to notice the professional humorists. The first of the professional humorists was Seba Smith, who wrote the "Major Jack Downing" letters of Jackson's time, as mentioned before. These letters have been forgotten, but their author must be remembered as the father of the humorists that followed.

Charles Farrar Browne, "Artemus Ward" (1834-67), was the typical funny man of his times. Born in Maine, he became a printer, an editor, and at length a humorous writer and lecturer. In this capacity he attracted the attention of the whole country, after which he went to England and became even more popular there than in his own country. But his life was short; he died of consumption at the age of thirty-three, "uttering a jest with his last breath." The writings of "Artemus Ward" are droll and mirth-provoking in the extreme. But ever-changing conditions render the public taste extremely changeable as to this form of literature, and "Artemus Ward," with all his drollery, is no longer read by the masses.

Other humorists of the period were: Robert Henry Newell, "Orpheus C. Kerr," whose writings were greatly enjoyed by President Lincoln; Donald G. Mitchell, "Ik

Marvel," whose *Rewries of a Bachelor* of a half century ago are still sometimes read; Charles Henry Smith of Georgia, who, under the pen name of "Bill Arp," humorously described the fortunes of the Confederacy; Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, another southern writer; William Tappan Thompson, author of *Major Jones's Courtship*; Joseph G. Baldwin, a native of Virginia, who describes the various forms of life in steamboat circles on the Mississippi; and above all in ability, David Ross Locke, under the pseudonym "Rev. Petroleum V. Nasby," who caricatured the southern sympathizers in the North, while pretending to be one of their number.

Two of the most successful humorists of the decade immediately preceding the war were, Benjamin P. Shillaber, who made a wide reputation by his "Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington," and Captain George H. Derby, an officer in the army and explorer in the West, who wrote under the name "John Phœnix."

Of a finer quality of genius than any of the foregoing was Henry W. Shaw (1818-85), known over the country as "Josh Billings." Born in Massachusetts, he went to the West in early life and became in turn a farmer, a steam-boat workman, and an auctioneer. At length, after he had reached middle age, having returned to the East, he began to write for the papers and to lecture. In 1870 he began publishing his "Farmer's Alminax," which became very popular. Readers of to-day are acquainted with many of the quaint maxims of "Josh Billings," which prove the writer a true philosopher as well as a humorist.

Other humorists of the post-bellum period were Robert J. Burdette, Edgar W. Nye ("Bill Nye"), Melville De Lancey Landon ("Eli Perkins"), Finley Peter Dunne, the creator of

"Mr. Dooley," and above all, Samuel L. Clemens, or "Mark Twain." Mr. Clemens, who is without exception the most notable humorist of the age, was born in Missouri in 1835. Among his many occupations are those of printer, pilot on the Mississippi, miner in Nevada, newspaper reporter in California and Hawaii, and finally lecturer and professional humorist. He has written many books and traveled in many lands, including Australia. His most popular books are *Innocents Abroad*, *Roughing It*, *Life on the Mississippi*, *Tom Sawyer*, and *Huckleberry Finn*. "Mark Twain" is essentially a humorist, but his writings disclose a fine sense of beauty and powers of description that might have given him an equal name in literature had he chosen to be a serious writer.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITERS

American historians have been treated in another portion of this work. One, however, who is not mentioned elsewhere, must not be left unnoticed—Henry Charles Lea of Philadelphia, born in that city in 1825. Mr. Lea has written various historical works—*Superstition and Force*, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, and others—which display profound scholarship and most diligent research. He is a member of many learned societies in America and Europe.

As an all-round miscellaneous author few can be compared with Charles Dudley Warner, who, at the age of forty-one, first won fame by publishing *My Summer in a Garden*, 1870, which, like many of his other books, reminds one of Irving's sketches. Most of Warner's writings are essays, many of which are descriptive of travels of the

author. The humor throughout Warner's writings is always refreshing, and the style is clear and pleasing.

A greater intellectual force than Warner was George William Curtis (1824-92), whose connection with Brook Farm seems to place him in a former generation, and whose later connection with Harper's Weekly gives him a distinctive place in our own. While a young man Curtis traveled in Egypt and Syria, and returning, wrote the delightful "Howadji" books, which displayed rare talent in the author. His *Potiphar Papers* are caustic satires showing the shams of New York society. *Prue and I* is a series of sketches and essays. For nearly forty years Curtis was connected with Harper's Weekly, and his "Essays from the Easy Chair," afterward published in three volumes, cover, in a masterly way, every important public question during that eventful period.

Among the great editors of the time was Charles A. Dana, who also began his notable career as a member of the Brook Farm society. Mr. Dana was associate editor of the New York Tribune for many years, after which he became the founder and editor of the New York Sun.—The most famous American editor, however, was Horace Greeley, whose public career has been noted elsewhere. We have spoken of E. C. Stedman as a literary critic, who was also a miscellaneous writer in various channels. But little below Stedman stands Edwin P. Whipple (1819-86), who gave his life to the study and criticism of literature. Whipple's judgment was sound and accurate, and his insight into literary excellence was peculiarly acute. Our leading Shakespearean critic is Richard Grant White (1821-85), who has able successors in Hamilton Wright Mabie, Horace Howard Furness, and William James Rolfe.

For adventures on the sea we must turn back to Richard H. Dana, whose *Two Years Before the Mast* has become a classic, and to Herman Melville, whose many tales of adventure on the deep and among the cannibals are still good reading. Melville lived till 1891, but his books and that of Dana were published in the period preceding the war.

In recent years greater attention than ever before has been given to the study of Nature and the writers in this field are too numerous to be named. The prince of Nature writers is John Burroughs, who has done more than any other man of his age to awaken a general interest in this enchanting subject.

We must close our list with the mere mention of such miscellaneous writers as Brander Matthews, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Miss Abigail Dodge, or "Gail Hamilton," Lawrence Hutton, Andrew D. White, Henry Harland, John Fiske, and George Parsons Lathrop.

Here must close our summary treatment of American literature. The output has been vast in quantity, and in quality it certainly reaches as high a degree of excellence as could be expected in so young a nation. It is true that a very large per cent of our literary output will perish with the age that produces it, but this fact does not lessen its present value.

Our literature is not yet commensurate with our greatness as a nation, but it should be remembered that Greece was more than a thousand years old before the dawn of her classic age, that Rome had been founded 800 years at the coming of the Augustan era, and that England had developed for a thousand years before the time of Elizabeth. Why then should we be disturbed if we have not yet produced a Homer or a Balzac, a Goethe or a Shakespeare?

The earth contains no race more virile than the Americans, and it is but reasonable to believe that our great land with its vast commercial, intellectual and religious life, its unbounded enthusiasm, will at length find its final expression in immortal literature—a literature that will take a place among the world's classics.

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